

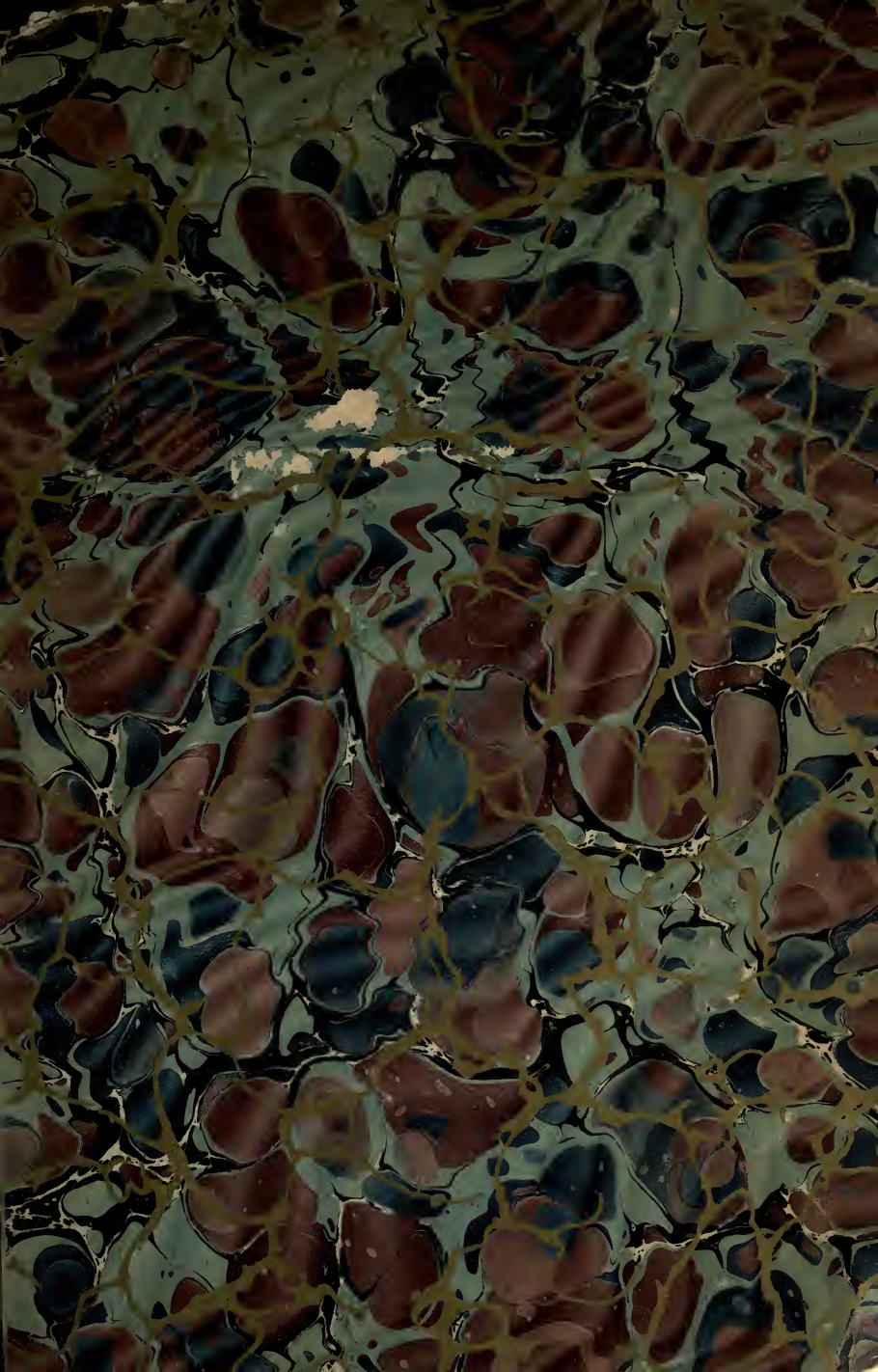
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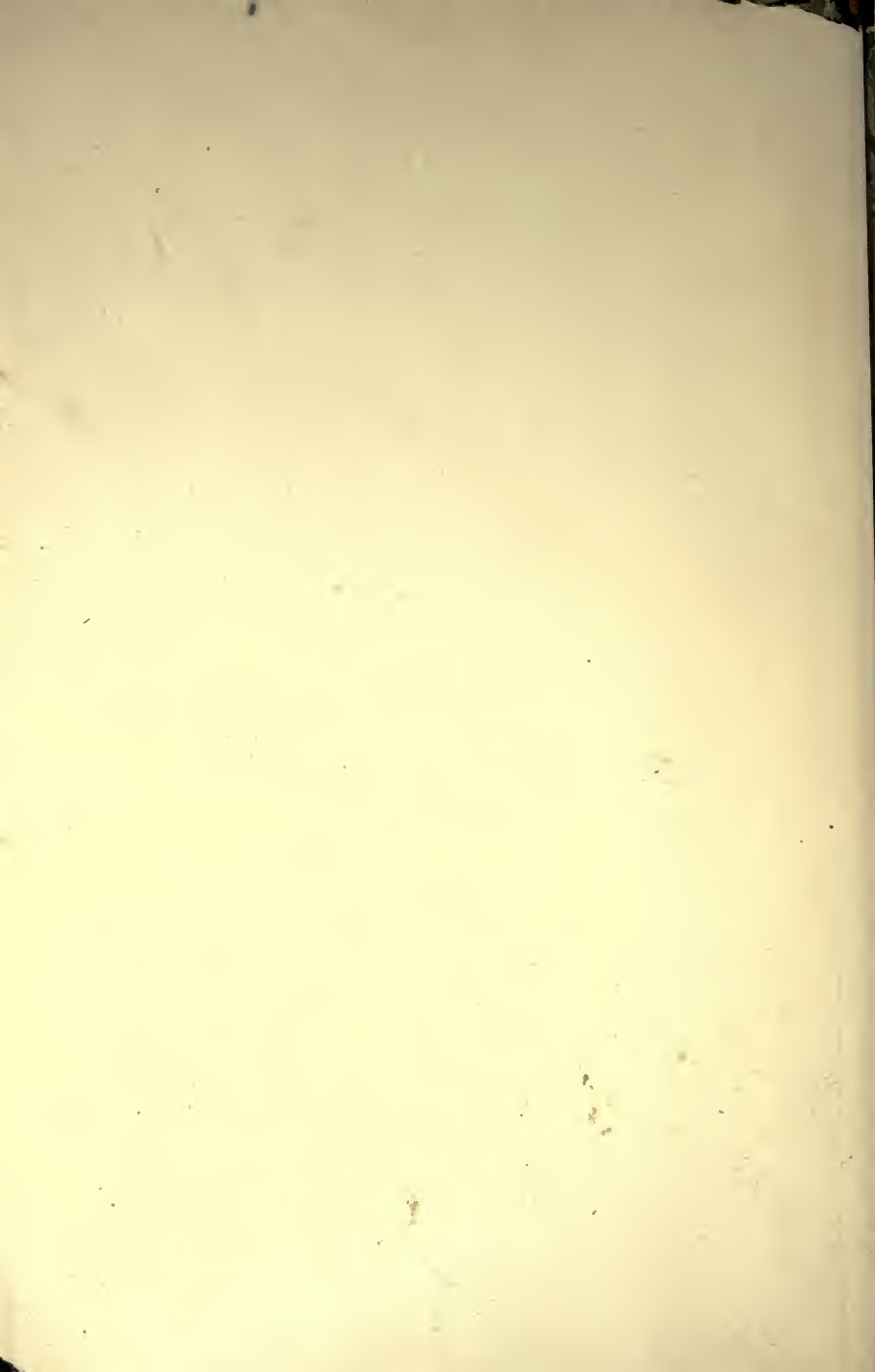
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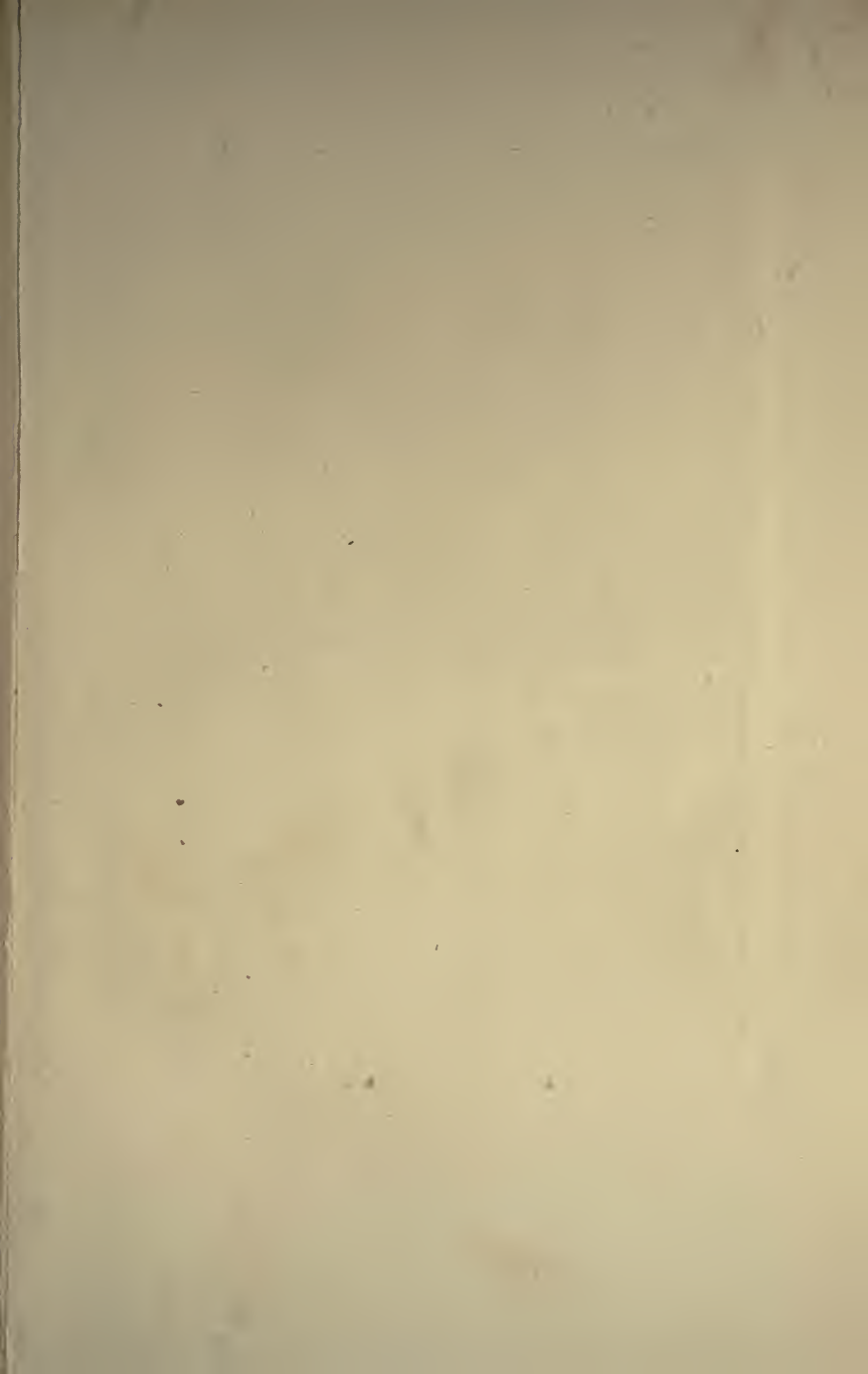




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A

HISTORY OF FRANCE

BY

VICTOR DURUY

MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

*ABRIDGED AND TRANSLATED FROM THE
SEVENTEENTH FRENCH EDITION*

By MRS. M. CAREY

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTICE AND A CONTINUATION
TO THE YEAR 1896

By J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

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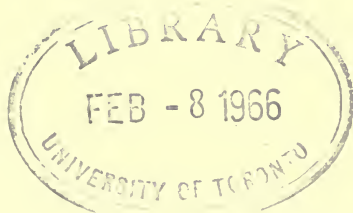
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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE work which follows is an abridged translation of the seventeenth edition (1884) of the *Histoire de France*, in two volumes, by the distinguished French historian, M. Victor Duruy. A good, short history of France is, it is believed, a book widely desired; and perhaps this is especially true in the present year, when that great country, its past and its present, is attracting an unusual degree of attention. For this purpose no better choice could be made than that of the famous work of M. Duruy. Ex-President Andrew D. White, of Cornell University, whose especial familiarity with French historical literature is well known, has said of it that, "of all the short summaries of French history, this is probably the best." President C. K. Adams, in his *Manual of Historical Literature*, declares that it is "beyond question, the best history of France ever published in the small space of two volumes." Its popularity in France itself is attested by the extraordinary number of the editions through which it has passed. In preparing the present abridgment, the effort has been made to follow as closely as possible the text of the original. A continuation has been added, bringing down the narrative from 1870 to the present year.

It has been thought not unfitting that this work should be introduced to the American public with some notice of its eminent author. His life has been marked not only by distinguished literary achievements, but by public services of an unusually interesting character.

Victor Duruy was born at Paris on the 11th of September, 1811, of a family of artists employed in the Gobelin tapestry works. At first he was himself destined to the same employment; but at the age of twelve he entered the Collège Sainte-Barbe, now called the Collège Rollin, and began his classical studies. Seven years later, in 1830, he was admitted into the École Normale Supérieure. Here

his taste for historical studies already showed itself, and at his graduation from the institution, in 1833, he was sent as professor of history to the college at Rheims. Thence, after a few months' service, he was recalled to Paris, and was given charge of the same department in the Collège Henri IV. Here, and at the Collège St. Louis, he continued as professor until 1861, exercising throughout that period a strong influence upon historical education in the secondary schools of France, both by his instructions and by his writings.

The first in the long series of M. Duruy's published writings began to appear soon after his recall to Paris. At first he rendered anonymous assistance in the production of several text-books of history. The earliest of his writings which appeared under his own name were on subjects in the field of historical geography. They were, first, his *Géographie Politique de la République Romaine et de l'Empire*, which appeared in 1838; second, his *Géographie Historique du Moyen Âge* (1839); and third, his *Géographie Historique de la France* (1840). The three works had a common aim, to improve historical education in France by making it easy to accompany the study of history with that indispensable adjunct, the study of historical geography; in 1841 the labors performed in the preparation of the three works were summed up in an *Atlas de la Géographie Historique Universelle*.

For some years after this, M. Duruy's attention was mainly given to ancient history. In 1844 he began the publication of a *Histoire des Romains et des Peuples soumis à leur Domination*, in two volumes, announced at the time as the prelude to a more extensive work upon the same subject. What was substantially a third volume of the same, a work entitled *État du Monde Romain vers la Fondation de l'Empire*, appeared in 1853, nearly contemporaneously with the foundation of that other military empire with whose fortunes the author was in so distinguished a manner to be connected. This last work was used by the author as a thesis for the degree of *docteur ès lettres*, which he received in 1853. Meanwhile he had published, in 1845, an *Histoire Sainte d'après la Bible*, which in 1884 had reached its eighth edition, and of which the author also prepared an abridgment, in 1848 an *Histoire Romaine* in one volume, and in 1851 an *Histoire Grecque* of similar extent. These last two had in 1884 reached their sixteenth and twelfth editions respectively. His works in the

department of French history began with the publication of a small text-book in 1848; four years later he brought out the first edition of his *Histoire de France*, in two volumes, of the seventeenth edition of which the present volume is an abridged translation. So extensive was the popularity of M. Duruy's works that they had sold in 1860 to the amount of more than two hundred thousand copies. That their favor with the reading public and their use for purposes of instruction has not since declined may be judged from the fact that in 1879 it was estimated that, including in addition the works which the indefatigable historian had published in the interval up to that date, the extraordinary number of a million and a half copies of his books had then been printed.

In 1861 M. Duruy resigned his professorship, and became, first, inspector of the Academy of Paris, and then lecturer at the École Normale. Continuing his studies of classical history, he published in 1862 a larger work of Greek history, *Histoire de la Grèce Ancienne*, which received the honor of being "crowned" by the French Academy. It is no secret that he rendered very considerable assistance to the emperor Napoleon III. in the preparation of the latter's well-known history of Julius Cæsar. At the personal desire of the emperor he was next appointed inspector-general of secondary instruction, and professor of history in the École Polytechnique. He then published, in the year 1863, an *Histoire des Temps Modernes*, now in its tenth edition, and an *Histoire Populaire Illustrée de la France*; in 1864, as a companion to this, an *Histoire Populaire Contemporaine*; and in 1865 an *Introduction Générale à l'Histoire de France*. Several of the historical works which have been mentioned, together with the *Histoire du Moyen Âge*, which has now passed its twelfth edition, form part of the collection of historical manuals called the *Histoire Universelle*, published under the editorship of M. Duruy, concerning which it may suffice to quote the statement of President Adams of Cornell, in his work referred to above, that, "as a whole, they probably form the most valuable series of historical text-books ever published." Mention of several minor school text-books of M. Duruy has necessarily been omitted.

The desire to treat together a group of the author's historical works has led us to a slight anticipation in the narrative of his life. A new career began for M. Duruy in the summer of 1863. At the end of June of that year, while he was making the tour of

the departments in his capacity of inspector-general of secondary education, an imperial missive, which, forwarded from his home, had pursued him from department to department, finally reached him in one of the southern departments, and informed him that he had been appointed minister of public instruction. M. Duruy has himself told us that he never received from the Emperor any other instructions than these words, in a letter written soon after his appointment: "Maintain, as I do, an enthusiasm for all that is great and noble." The new minister entered at once and with vigor upon a career of wide and far-seeing educational reform. His tenure of office during six years, a period almost unexampled among modern French administrations, gave abundant opportunity for carrying out such designs, and the years 1863 to 1869 form an epoch of the most signal importance in the annals of French education.

It is impossible to do more than mention the chief measures of improvement which signalized this great administration. M. Duruy restored the study of philosophy to an important place in the curricula of the *lycées*, or secondary schools. He introduced into them, against strong opposition, the study of contemporary history, rightly contending that it was absurd to know the history of Pyrrhus, yet to be ignorant of that of Napoleon I., Louis XVIII., and Louis Philippe. He introduced gymnastic exercises and military drill into the *lycées*, colleges, and normal schools, and arranged with Marshal Niel a plan by which six or eight hundred instructors would have been sent each year into the village schools, to prepare the youthful portion of the rural population for national defence. He arranged upon a more satisfactory basis the mutual relations of scientific and literary studies in secondary schools. He provided a commission to which professors displaced from state institutions might appeal. He reorganized the Museum of Natural History, and so developed the courses of instruction afforded by it that they might serve the interests of agricultural education. Recognizing the benefits which German university instruction had derived from the system of *seminaries*, he established, for similar purposes, the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, and provided numerous laboratories for scientific instruction and research. The learned societies of the provinces were encouraged and their labors systematized; and a professional normal school was established in

the buildings of the old abbey of Cluny, to which students might be sent from each department.

M. Duruy also entered with enthusiasm into the work of improving and extending elementary education. He developed, at Paris and in most of the important French cities, a system of evening schools for the instruction of adults. One of the most comprehensive of his schemes of reform proposed that elementary education should be made both gratuitous and compulsory throughout France. The former element of his plan was accepted for gradual introduction; to the latter, serious objections were made, and it was deferred. Another important innovation consisted in the establishment of free courses of public lectures and instruction. Courses of this sort, under competent professors, were established in almost all the leading cities. All these progressive measures, it should be said, were carried out by M. Duruy at the cost of an astonishingly small expenditure from the national funds. Finally, toward the end of the year 1867, M. Duruy went further, and attempted to inaugurate state instruction of girls by establishing special public courses for them. At Paris, the Empress conducted her nieces, the daughters of the Duchess of Alba, to one of these lectures; but in the provinces the clergy, from the beginning, declared themselves hostile to a project which looked toward the secular education of women.

Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, headed this opposition, and argued with much vigor and eloquence against the proposed innovation. A strong agitation against it was undertaken, to which the Pope lent his approval. Many of the previous measures of M. Duruy had excited considerable opposition and aroused heated discussion, as was natural when so many comprehensive reforms were so rapidly brought forward. The result was that by an imperial message of July 17, 1869, M. Duruy was replaced in the ministry of public instruction by another. Among the acts which distinguished his brilliant and extraordinarily fruitful official career, mention should also be made of the publication of the valuable and comprehensive series of *Rapports Officiels sur les Progrès des Lettres et des Sciences*, prepared under his direction on the occasion of the universal exposition of 1867 at Paris.

On retiring from the office of minister, M. Duruy was made a senator of the Empire, with a *dotation* of 30,000 francs. Decorated with the badge of the Legion of Honor in 1845, he had been suc-

cessively promoted to be an officer, commander, and finally, in 1867, grand officer of the Legion. He had been made an officer of the Turkish order of the Medjidieh in 1857. M. Duruy retained his seat in the Senate until the fall of the Empire in 1870. He maintained an enthusiastically patriotic attitude during the Franco-German War, and took part in it as a volunteer. He has since pursued his historical studies, and produced not only several new editions of his former works, but especially, what may probably be regarded as the most conspicuous of his works, a much enlarged reproduction of his *Histoire des Romains* (1870-76). A sumptuous edition in seven volumes (1879-85), covering the whole period from the most ancient times to the invasions of the Roman Empire by the barbarians, represents doubtless the final form of this work. The author is now engaged in producing a similarly enlarged and sumptuous edition of his *Histoire des Grecques*. He has also published a volume of *Causeries de Voyage*.

In 1873 M. Duruy was elected a member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, succeeding M. Vitet. After the fall of the Empire he remained an imperialist, and as such, in January, 1876, offered himself as a candidate for the Senate, in the department of Seine-et-Oise, but was defeated. In 1879 he was chosen a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. On December 4th, 1884, the distinguished historian received the highest and most coveted honor which the literary career in France affords, being elected, practically without opposition, a member of the French Academy. He was chosen as the successor of the great historian Mignet. He was received into the Academy in June, 1885, the *discours de réception* being pronounced by Mgr. Perraud, Bishop of Autun, who, together with three other Academicians, — the Duke of Aumale, Émile Augier, and Victorien Sardou, — was formerly a pupil of M. Duruy.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

PROVIDENCE, June 1, 1889.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

A GREAT poet of another nation called France the soldier of God. For more than twelve centuries, indeed, she seems to have acted, fought, and conquered or suffered, for the whole world. It has been her singular privilege that nothing of the greatest magnitude has been accomplished in Europe without her having a hand in it; no great political or social experiment has been tried that has not first been worked out within her borders; and her history is a summary and abstract of the whole history of modern civilization. Such was the part played by Athens in the Greek world, and later, in the third age of ancient civilization, that of Rome. For there is always one point at which the general life is most intense and rich, a focus in which civilization concentrates its scattered rays.

I will venture in a few lines to sum up the general course of our history and the civilizing rôle of France.

At first, upon the soil of Gaul, the fortunate configuration of which Strabo admired to the degree of finding in it the proof of a divine providence, we see only a confused mixture of mutually alien populations, Iberians and Gaels, Kymry and Teutons, Greeks and Italians, with the old Celtic element predominating. Yet to subdue them required ten legions, Cæsar, and his genius.

Rome gives to this chaos its first organization. To these warlike nations, whose taste for wandering and for war so greatly disturbed the ancient world, she brings order and civilization; she covers their country with roads, with monuments, and with schools. She gives them her laws, her municipal system, and, later, her administrative traditions. Gaul then becomes the most prosperous, most Roman, and therefore the first, of the provinces of the Empire.

But this empire, to which its poets were promising an eternal duration, begins to crumble beneath the weight of the defects of its own government. New nations burst in upon its provinces, scattering the seeds of ruin and death. The invasion of the bar-

barians takes place in every province; it is in Gaul alone that it succeeds. There it establishes the state into which all the others are to be merged. How long did the frail kingdoms of the Burgundians and the Suevi, of the Vandals and the Heruli, of the Goths and the Lombards continue? The strongest of them did not last three centuries, while the successors of Clovis and of Charlemagne transmitted their crown and their title to a house which is even yet not extinct.

After having spread over all lands, the invasion halts, recoils, and disappears. What has Africa retained of the Vandals, Italy of the Goths, Spain of the Alans and the Suevi? In France, on the other hand, it takes root and acquires permanent organization, on condition of ceasing to be itself, by suffering itself to be led by those whom it has subdued, and especially by the Church. "When thou fightest," a bishop of Valence wrote to Clovis, "the victory is ours."

The bishop was right. The victory of the Franks was the salvation of the Catholic clergy: for at that hour they were threatened by the most serious dangers to which they had ever been subjected; Arianism was everywhere triumphant. What ardent desires, then, did it not entertain for the success of that Frankish tribe which alone did not bear upon its forehead the mark of heresy, which was to give security and power to the Church, to conquer all in order to lay all at its feet! *Mitis, depone colla, Sicamber.*

An enemy hitherto invincible approaches. Islam, starting out from the depths of Arabia, has spread in less than a century from the Ganges to the Pyrenees. It desires to throw down this barrier also. Its light horsemen pass the Garonne and cross the Loire; Christian Europe is at its mercy. The Franks check its fiery enthusiasm and hurl back over the mountains the Moslem invasion, broken and henceforward powerless against Western Europe.

The Papacy, lately freed from the supremacy of the Byzantine emperors, was in danger of falling under that of the Lombard kings. In an age when all questions tended to become religious questions, when all society was enclosed and enfolded within the Church, when the nations yielded with docile obedience to the words which fell from the throne of St. Peter, it was not well that the head of Christendom should, for lack of political independence, run the risk of becoming an instrument of oppression in the hands of a

single prince. Pippin and Charlemagne founded his temporal independence.

The barbarian world remains fluctuating and undecided, abandoning itself without control to the manifold influences which were acting upon it, without sense of common interests, and therefore without strength or stability. Charlemagne takes it in his powerful hands, gives it form and organization, and seeks to breathe the breath of life into this refractory mass. He gives form to German and Christian Europe, and, by making Rome its central point, shows that it must necessarily rest upon ancient civilization, purified and transformed by Christianity. Unfortunately for Italy, he revives the Western Empire; but he creates Germany, which did not exist before his time, and he confers upon France that European supremacy which the Merovingians set before its eyes for a moment, and which it has so many times exercised since then. Charlemagne dies, his work dissolves; but he did not entirely die, for his grand form rises above the feudal times, like the genius of order, constantly inviting the nations to emerge from chaos and seek union under some glorious and powerful head. How greatly kings were aided by the recollection of the great emperor in their efforts to re-establish their power and that of the state! Under Charlemagne, almost all Christian Europe was the territory of the Franks, and the old provinces of northeastern Gaul, from which they had come, formed but the centre of their empire. But his successors suffered this too heavy crown to fall from their heads. The Empire becomes divided into kingdoms, the kingdoms in turn dissolve; France, pushed back from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Meuse, becomes a confused agglomeration of little independent states, and thick darkness settles down upon the world. When it clears away, a new society appears, feudal society, and modern civilization begins, its point of departure being pre-eminently France.

The feudal revolution, it is true, went on in all parts of Germanic Europe, but it took definite form in France. It was French feudalism which settled in England with William the Bastard, in Southern Italy with Robert Guiscard, in Portugal with Henry of Burgundy, in the Holy Land with Godfrey of Bouillon. It was the French lords who drew up the typical charter of feudalism, the Assizes of Jerusalem; who called into existence tournaments, the military orders, chivalry and heraldry; who conceived that ideal

of courage, purity, devotion, and gallantry which has left ineffaceable traces in modern manners. It was in France, in a word, that feudalism and chivalry and aristocratic society had their highest expression, as later was to be true of absolute monarchy and later still of democracy; as if upon the people of France were laid the charge, in behalf of other nations, to make trial of all forms of political constitution to their utmost consequences.

Feudalism, so oppressive in its age of decline, had had its time of rightful rule, when it checked the second barbarian invasion, that of the Northmen, Hungarians, and Saracens; for every form of power gains a footing by its services and falls by reason of its abuse. It had also its heroic age, in the time of the Crusades, when millions of men gathered together to march to the conquest of a tomb. The Crusades are the greatest achievement of the Middle Ages, and they belong almost wholly to France, as does the Truce of God which preceded them. The East has recognized this; to it, from those days to this, every European is a Frank, and the historian of the Crusades gave to his book the title of *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

The Middle Ages were then at their apogee, and it is in France that they attained their highest greatness. Italy has illustrious pontiffs, but a saint, the eldest son of the Church, sits upon the throne of France. The clergy is everywhere powerful, but where does one find in greater number or in greater impressiveness those lessons of equality and respect for intellect which the Church gave to feudal society, by preserving the system of election, elsewhere lost, and by summoning the least of the sons of the people to sit on its pontifical thrones as the equals of the great ones of the earth? Where did monasticism, and the fortunate results which at first attended it, achieve so great an extension? A French monk, St. Bernard, governs all Europe; and what order can rival that of Cîteaux, whose head was called the abbot of abbots, had under his command more than three thousand monasteries, and was the superior of the military orders of Calatrava and Alcántara in Spain, of Avis and of Christ in Portugal? A new art, which neither Greece nor Rome knew, which is neither German nor Saracen, though the Orient perhaps gave its first suggestion, rears those mountains of stone, whose mass, at once imposing and light, still fills us with admiration. Paris, "the city of the philosophers," is the focus of all light; from the remotest regions students flock

to its schools, which have drawn forth learning from the retirement of the monasteries, and given it a secular complexion. Great reputations are made at its university alone, which counts twenty thousand scholars, and at which the most illustrious doctors of Germany, Italy, and England are in turn pupils and masters. Their idiom is Latin, their science Scolasticism; but the language of Villehardouin and Joinville aspires to universal sway, thanks to the crusaders, who carried it everywhere, thanks to the troubadours and trouvères, who poured a great flood of poetry upon Europe. "It is current throughout the world," says, in 1275, an Italian, who is translating into French a chronicle of his own country; and Dante's teacher uses it to write his *Trésor*, because "the language of France is most common among all nations." The intellectual dominion over Europe already belongs to France.

Civilization does not always advance in a straight line. It has its times of halt and of retreat, which would make us despair if we did not know that the life of humanity is a long journey upon a difficult path, in which the eternal traveller ascends and descends, while still pressing forward. When, in the times of St. Louis and the Doctor Angelicus, the Middle Ages have reached the highest attainments of Catholic art and science, they descend rapidly down the opposite slope and lose themselves in the lower levels of the succeeding century, one of those most abundant in miseries.

Scarcely, indeed, has the great thirteenth century ended, when all that it has loved and glorified declines or falls. The Papacy is unworthily buffeted at Anagni and held captive in Avignon by the hand of that very France which had aided it to rise above the thrones of kings. The Church is torn by schism, the Crusade goes to the stake in the person of the knights of the Temple, and feudalism, silently undermined, begins to fall. A prominent lord, nephew of the Pope, is hanged like a peasant, and a peasant, a money-changer, receives a patent of nobility.

What then is the force that thus spreads ruin about it and rises upon the débris? The great revolutionary at this time is the king, as the aristocracy had been in the times before Hugh Capet, and as the people were to be after Louis XIV. But lately a prisoner in the four or five towns which were all that Philip I. possessed, royalty had in two centuries broken through the circle of feudal fortresses which hemmed it in, and had marched with great strides, from usurpation to usurpation, as the nobles said, toward absolute au-

thority. In other words, it had recovered, one by one, the powers of state usurped by the lords, had imposed upon these insubordinate vassals, who dated their charters by the reign of God, in the absence of any king, *Deo regnante*, the king's peace, the king's justice, the king's money, and, after an interval of three centuries, had resumed the exercise of the right to make laws for the whole state. The last capitulary is one of Charles the Simple; the first ordinance of general import is one of Philip Augustus. At the accession of the House of Valois, feudalism had no longer any other than administrative and military power.

This revolution from above had been possible because a revolution from below had also been effected. Philosophy and Christianity had undermined the slavery of ancient times: the barbarian invasion had disorganized it, and gradually the slaves had become serfs, owing customary instead of arbitrary services, living and dying, remote from a capricious and violent master, upon soil on which they had been born, and upon which the rural household now at last began to take form. This new class gained accessions from two sources: slaves rose into it, *coloni* and dispossessed freemen sank into it. In the tenth century the transformation was complete. There remained very few slaves, and in general only serfs were to be found among the rural population as well as in a great part of the population of the towns.

Then another process began. Bishop Adalberon, in a Latin poem addressed to King Robert, recognizes only two classes in society, — the clerks who pray, the nobles who fight: far below creep about the serfs and villeins, who work, but count for nothing in the state. These men, whom Bishop Adalberon did not reckon, nevertheless caused him apprehensions. He foresaw with grief a coming revolution. "Our ways are changing," he cries; "the social order is disturbed." It is the cry of all the fortunate ones of every age, at each sound of clamor from below. He was right: a revolution was commencing which was to draw the peasants out of their servitude and set them upon a level with those who were then masters of the land: but the revolution required seven centuries for its achievement.

The towns gave the signal: communal insurrections introduced freedom and order within their walls. The crown favored this movement, outside of its own domains, upon the lands of the lords: and the communal soldiery, in turn, aided the king in his feudal

wars. They gathered under the oriflamme before all the castles which Louis VI. desired to destroy, and aided Philip Augustus to gain our first national victory at Bouvines.

The communes sought a jealous independence, but the independence of towns was no more to be desired than that of castles: the royal power struck them both down, for they would have prevented the formation of the national life. But instead of restraining these anarchical liberties by reducing them to liberties compatible with good order and unity in the state, the royal power struck them down completely, and thus prepared the void which later spread around itself.

But if the castles and the communes lose, the simple *villes de bourgeoisie* and the rural districts gain. The first obtain guarantees for their industry and their commerce, for the security of the property and persons of their inhabitants: the others witness still further improvement in the condition of the rural populations. In the twelfth century serfs are admitted to bear witness in court: in the thirteenth, enfranchisements become more numerous, for the lords begin to perceive that they will gain by having on their lands industrious freemen, rather than serfs, "who neglect their work, saying that they work for others:" in the fourteenth the country districts receive organization, the ecclesiastical parishes become civil communities: finally, in the fifteenth, they for a moment enter upon political life; the peasants take part, in their primary assemblies, in the nomination of deputies to the States-General of 1484. Burgesses deprived of exclusive privileges and enfranchised serfs thus come together, half way from servitude to liberty, and extend the hand to each other.

All countries have had communes and serfs. France alone has already formed out of its entire non-noble population the Third Estate, which in the rest of Europe is still in process of formation. A new form of society is coming into existence, and France is its standard-bearer.

So those slaves who, in ancient times, were only things, instruments of labor, *instrumentum vocale*, bought and sold indiscriminately with cattle, horses, and implements, *instrumentum mutum*: who, in the Middle Ages, have recovered their personality and become men, now rise still another stage and become citizens. Enriched by commerce, enlightened by the knowledge which they have acquired at the universities, and prepared for the conduct of public

affairs through the management of municipal interests, they are called into political life by Philip the Fair. Little by little they install themselves, in the persons of their principal men, in the ministry, in the Parliament, in the great council, in the *cour des comptes*, in the *cour des aides*, in all financial and judicial offices. From these they rule the kingdom and sometimes the king: but they likewise, in their fear of feudalism, direct the king toward absolute power or confirm him in it.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the States-General, in which they are represented, dispose of the crown: they set up the king; in 1357 and in 1484 they seemed disposed to set him aside. But feudalism was still rich and powerful, the strong authority of an individual too plainly needed, and these attempts failed. Moreover, they had not arisen out of the settled and general consciousness of the nation, but from the bold thought of a few men who perceived the frightful miseries in which France was plunged.

Royalty, in fact, forgetting for a moment those who had made its fortune, and again becoming chivalrous and feudal, had led the country into deep abysses, from which it extricated itself after untold sufferings. Warned by this cruel lesson, royalty dismounts from its war-horse, lays aside the battle-axe and lance which had so ill served Philip VI. and John: it becomes *bourgeoise*, and recalls its plebeian counsellors. The nobility has only disdain and insults for such men, and from time to time sends them to the scaffold or into exile and seizes their goods. But these plebeians continually advance, sheltering themselves under the royal authority, which needs their intelligence and has nothing to fear from their weakness. Holding in their hands their political gospel, the Roman law, they go on, widening the domain of their common law, which rests on equality, in opposition to the feudal law which rests on privilege, and the day comes when they banish a count of Armagnac, condemn to death a duke of Alençon, burn a marshal de Retz, or throw a bastard of Bourbon into the river, sewn up in a sack on which they have written, "Make way for the king's justice."

Whence do they derive this confidence and this strength? It is because they have made the king the great justice-of-the-peace of the kingdom and have given him three things, the possession of which brings all the rest: the support of public opinion, money, and an army. The Middle Ages knew neither permanent armies

nor permanent taxes. In those times the king lived upon the proceeds of his own domain, and had no soldiers, save those which his lords brought him for a limited time and limited uses. The councillors of Charles VII., going back ten centuries, borrowed from the Roman Empire its system of permanent taxes and permanent armies. This system had originated at Rome at the same time with absolute power, and had contributed to its establishment. It had the same effects in France. Louis XI. completed the destruction of the feudal aristocracy; Charles VIII. and Francis I. led it away upon foreign expeditions and accustomed it to military discipline in their camps. In the sixteenth century feudalism had become simply the French noblesse.

Under cover of the wars of religion and those consequent on the minority of kings, it attempts again to possess itself of power. Richelieu brings the loftiest heads to the scaffold and razes the last fortresses. Decimated and ruined, the nobility falls back into the ante-chambers of Louis XIV., who adorns it with titles and decorations, but chains it to the triumphant car of royalty.

While accomplishing this internal revolution, France was also acting upon foreign countries. Charles VIII. by his Italian expedition had begun the great wars which, by mingling nations, interests, and ideas, had established in respect to politics that solidarity of European nations which France had essayed to establish at two periods of the Middle Ages; at the time of the Crusades, in respect to religion, at the time of Charlemagne in a first grand project of social organization. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries she defends the liberties of Europe against the House of Austria. Under Louis XIV. she begins herself to threaten them, but compensates for it by the prodigious *éclat* of her civilization, which spreads to the most remote regions.

At this epoch of unlooked-for greatness, French society has taken a new form. The successor of Hugh Capet, the inheritor of that humble crown which a few bishops and lords gave and took away, now reigns over twenty million men, and signs his ordinances with the formula, "Such is my good pleasure." Like the Roman emperor, he is the living law, *lex animata*. He goes back even further than the Empire, even to those Oriental monarchies in which political and religious despotism, in order the better to assure the blind obedience of the people, attributes to the monarch a portion of divinity. He calls himself the vicar of God upon

earth, proclaims his divine right, and places himself apart from ordinary humanity. The neighboring nations accept the new theory which France is formulating and practising. The divine right of kings is everywhere asserted; and Europe with strange docility models all its royalties after that of Versailles. Louis XIV. is certainly not a great man, but he is assuredly a great king, and the greatest that Europe has seen.

When in the history of the world a considerable phenomenon is persistently reproduced, it is inferred that permanent and necessary causes are behind it; and these give it legitimacy. But there is nothing eternal upon earth. Nations, assemblages of active and free beings, have continually new needs; to them immobility would be death. Born of general needs and compelled to satisfy them in order to continue in existence, constitutions ought to accommodate themselves to the changes which have been effected in ideas and habits, like the elastic and supple envelope which, surrounding and protecting the growing germ, conforms itself to its growth. In order to impose peace and order upon so many discordant wills and hostile passions, in order to bring into association so many opposing elements, it was necessary that a single power should force all the rest into subordination; it was necessary that the local springs of independent life should become extinct, and that France should feel itself to be living in the life of one man before it felt the national life throbbing in it. In a word, it was necessary that Louis XIV. should be able to say, "I am the state," in order that Siéyès might be able to reply, "We are the state."

While royalty, under ideas of divine right, surrounded by legitimate homages, was ascending that Capitolian Hill to which the Tarpeian Rock is so near, a silent and slow movement was still going on in the lower strata of society. The Middle Ages, in the midst of their anarchy and their violence, had had great and influential maxims of public rights; no tax could be raised save with the consent of the taxed, no law was valid unless accepted by those who would owe obedience to it, no sentence legal unless rendered by the peers of the accused. These principles and many others, though opposed and stifled, incessantly reappeared. There is always some voice which recalls them to mind and prevents their lapsing through prescription; it is the Sire de Pecquigny in the States of 1357, the Sire de la Roche in those of 1484, and many others in the States of Orleans and of Pontoise, in the two assem-

blies of Blois, and especially in that of 1614, whose *cahiers* include almost all the demands of 1789. Thus the tradition of public securities and national rights was never lost. Each generation transmitted it to the generation succeeding, and so the tradition went on growing stronger from age to age as the national life developed and the feeling for general interests rose above the feeling for particular interests.

The kings had heard with entire displeasure this voice of the deputies of the country. In order to stifle it, they ceased after 1614 to call them together. "It is not good," said Louis XIV., "that any one should speak in the name of all." But even from the foot of the throne this voice still spoke, feeble and timid, yet powerful through the echoes which it awakened. The Parliament, the king's court, tried to rise out of the obscurity of its judicial functions, and aspired to a political rôle. It assumed the position of natural protector of the people; and if in times before Louis XIV. it kept silent, after him it grew bold to the point of filling the whole eighteenth century with its quarrels with the court.

Alone, the Parliament would have been powerless. An aristocracy of officials, it could speak for the people, but could not make them act. But the national education had been effected, by the work of hands and brains. The Third Estate had in each generation gained in wealth and intelligence. In the Middle Ages there had been but one form of wealth, — landed property, — and this the lords possessed. Free labor had finally created another, — capital, — and this was in the hands of the burgesses. With leisure came study and enlightenment. France had not had Luther and his religious reformation, which would have pushed it backward, but it had had Descartes and his philosophical reformation, which had urged it forward. It had remained Catholic without having the Inquisition, and a renaissance, almost as brilliant as that of Italy, had opened to the minds of men the paths in which lay art and science and truth. All these great movements produced in intelligent minds an awakening which, with the fortunate concurrence of men of genius, brought to France the greatest age of her literature, and secured to her, for the second time, the intellectual supremacy over Europe. Louis XIV., arriving in the midst of this brilliant expansion of the French intellect, gave it order and discipline; but the noble regard which he showed for those whose only gifts were those of intelligence reacted against his own political

system. Corneille, in the palace of Richelieu, was little more than a servant employed to make verses; Racine, Boileau, Molière, were almost the friends of the great king. It shows a curious connection of influences, that Louis XIV., the establisher of absolute monarchy, was obliged to encourage industry and literature, the two forces destined to cast down what he was building up; for the one gave the Third Estate the wealth which led it to demand guarantees; the other, the intelligence which led it to lay claim to rights.

In the seventeenth century literature was confined to artistic effort; opposition, to the sphere of religious beliefs. The leaders of the opposition were the Protestants and the Jansenists; the great pamphlet of the age was written against the Jesuits. In the eighteenth century, absolutism having endangered these material interests which commerce and industry were every day multiplying, the opposition extended to the domain of political ideas, and literature, as the expression of this new need, invaded everything and claimed a right to regulate everything. The most masculine forces of the French mind seemed to be wholly devoted to the seeking of the public weal, and sought not to write fine verses, but to utter fine maxims. They depicted the absurdities of the social organization, not in order to laugh at them, but in order to change society itself. Literature became a weapon which every one, the imprudent as well as the skilful, tried to use, and which, incessantly striking blows on all sides, inflicted terrible and incurable wounds. By a strange inconsequence, those who had most to suffer from this invasion of politics by literary men were the loudest in their applause. The society of the eighteenth century, frivolous, sensual, and selfish as it was, nevertheless maintained in the midst of its vices a sincere devotion to the things of the mind. Never were salons so animated, manners so exquisite, conversation so brilliant. Talent had place there almost as its birthright, and the nobility, with a chivalrous temerity like that of Fontenoy, invited, with a smile upon its lips, the fire of those ardent polemics which the sons of the *bourgeois* directed against them.

Then begins a vast inquest. Some seek out and note the vices of the social organization; they lift the veil behind which are concealed the deep sores which are enervating and exhausting the country, and will kill it if not healed. Others even make no account of the old edifice in which society has so long been sheltered; in thought they cast it down, and desire upon the cleared ground to

build up a new society. These voices from France are heard beyond its frontiers; governments awaken, kings and ministers set themselves to work, dig canals, make roads and encourage industry, commerce, and agriculture. Everywhere men speak of justice and beneficence. But France, which has sounded the alarm, shown the danger, pointed out the remedy and impelled the princes to undertake one part of the task, — material reforms, — can for herself obtain nothing. Turgot and Necker are dismissed as dangerous visionaries; even Calonne falls when he begins to speak of reforms. The old régime, unwilling to give up anything, loses everything. The Revolution breaks out, and proclaims the ideas which are to-day the foundations of our public and private law, which the Republic and the Empire, by their victories, disseminated in every part of Europe, and which are destined to spread over the whole world because they are summed up in the one word justice.

It has often been said that the distinctive characteristic of the literary genius of France is good sense, rationality; I would add, from a certain point of view, impersonality; for Rabelais and Montaigne, Descartes and Molière, Pascal, Voltaire, and Montesquieu write for the whole world quite as much as for their own land. The end which they seek is the true, their personal enemy the false, and the immortal types which they sketch, belong to humanity even more than to France. In this sense our literature, like our arts, is of all literatures the most human, because it is the least exclusively national.

This is also the distinctive characteristic of the political genius of France and of its history. That which is extreme does not long continue there. Feudalism stops and retreats before having made the country another Germany, the communes undergo a transformation before having made it another Italy, so that we have been subjected neither to that feudal anarchy from which the one has escaped only in our own time, nor to that municipal anarchy which so long delivered over the other to foreign domination. Absolute monarchy, necessary in order to clear the ground, could not by its divine right maintain itself forever, as it expected to do, nor can radicalism make itself eternal by what it dares to call its revolutionary right.

This oscillating and continual advance is what makes the charm of French history, because in it is recognized the advance of humanity itself. It is not that France has led the world; but it

has often had its post in the advance-guard and has held aloft the flag by which others have often been guided. They have followed afar off, trying to resist the powerful influence; they have spoken loudly of our faults and of our mistakes; they have awakened their most patriotic traditions and exalted their national glories; but the first language which they learned after that of home was ours, and the first glance which they directed outside of their own boundaries and their own history fell upon France.

After the battle of Salamis, the Greek chieftains met to decide the bestowal of the prize of valor. Each assigned to himself the first, but all awarded the second to Themistocles.

HISTORY OF FRANCE.



INTRODUCTION.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF GAUL.

Boundaries.—The Ocean and the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine formed in ancient times the limits of Gaul, a fourth larger than the France of to-day. Not till 843 did France retire behind the Meuse and the Rhone. She has not ceased to reclaim her ancient heritage. She has recovered the barrier of the Alps, accepted that of the Jura on the east, and till lately had a frontier of forty leagues upon the Rhine. But on the northeast there has remained that wide opening through which all invasions have come and which has required the greatest efforts for its defence.

General Aspect.—This vast and well-defined territory forms an inclined plane, sloping from the summit of the Alps to the ocean. Its upper portion, backed by the central chain of the greater Alps, with Mont Blanc as the apex, is comprised within two and a half degrees of latitude. But the country widens as it descends towards the ocean, and from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Adour it occupies a space of nine degrees. The Pyrenees also, on the French side, descend in a gentle slope towards the Atlantic.

There are thus two distinct regions. In the south and southeast are mountains, forests and pastures, lakes and impetuous rivers, populations sober, laborious, little used to manufacturing, but essentially military. To the west and the north are gently undulating hills and fertile valleys, open plains, and navigable rivers, marshes and landes, industrial cities and ports. Yet the great valleys of the Rhine and the Rhone traverse the mountainous region of the east, while the last spurs of the mountains extend far into the

west: so that Auvergne, in the centre of France, has, like the Alps, its shepherds and goatherds, while the valleys of the Rhone and the Rhine have, like those of the great western rivers, their great trading and manufacturing towns. This parallelism is the foundation of the national unity of France; for if the east had had only mountaineers and the west only sailors, two nations would have been formed in France.

The Cévennes and the Vosges. — The characteristic feature of the French land is the long chain of the Cévennes and the Vosges. Entirely enclosed within the territory of France, they form, as it were, its backbone. But while they determine the direction of its rivers, they sink low enough at various places to allow the passage of roads, canals, and railways.

The Cévennes, properly speaking, belong only to the department of Lozère. But they extend their spurs and their name, on the one side toward the neighborhood of Castelnau-dary, where they meet the last hills of the Pyrenees, and on the other, to the neighborhood of Châlon, where they encounter the heights of the Côte-d'Or, which unite the Cévennes with the Vosges. The highest mountains of the Vosges have an altitude of 1431 meters, the highest of the Cévennes an altitude of 1774 meters. Taken together, the Cévennes and the Vosges form a chain 960 kilometers long and 280 kilometers wide at the broadest part.

Western Spurs of the Cévennes. — This chain has a steep escarpment on the east toward the Saône and the Rhone; but on the western side branch out the mountains of Velay and Forez, which separate the Loire from the Allier, and, further south, a loftier group, which joins the Cévennes to the high mountains of Auvergne, where the Puy de Sancy rises to the height of 1897 meters. From the latter group ramify all the heights that cover the country between the Garonne and the Loire, the undulating surface of Quercy, Périgord, and Limousin. In Auvergne, three hundred craters of now extinct volcanoes have been counted.

Ramifications of the Côte-d'Or. — To the mountains of Burgundy are joined the hills of Morvan and Nivernais, which separate the Seine and the Loire. Behind Orleans, these heights broaden out into a vast plateau, and then rise into a little chain, which farther on divides: its two

branches form the framework of the two bold peninsulas of the Cotentin and Brittany, with their great military harbors of Brest and Cherbourg.

The Argonne and the Ardennes.—From the plateau of Langres extend the Argonne and the Ardennes, which enclose the Meuse. The Ardennes cross that river, and between the sources of the Somme, the Scheldt, and the Sambre, form a mountain-knot from which branch out the hills of Picardy and the Pays de Caux, those of Artois and the Boulonnais, and those of Belgium. The eastern Ardennes, a wild and marshy plateau (698 meters), join the volcanic hills to the eastward, of which the remotest heights overlook the Rhine.

Northern Extremity of the Vosges.—The Vosges also extend to the Rhine, between Speyer and Mainz. Closely confined by the parallel streams of the Moselle and the Rhine, the Vosges do not have extensive ramifications. On the side toward Alsace, their hills are still covered with feudal ruins, contrasting picturesquely with the busy manufacturing towns of the plain.

Interior Valleys; the Moselle, the Meuse, the Somme.—The valleys of France are of two classes, those wholly within French territory, rising in the Cévennes and the Vosges, and those which have their sources beyond the frontier. The first have been the cradle of the French nation and genius: by the others the foreign influences have come in.

The eastern slope of the Cévennes gives rise to insignificant streams only, but to the west and to the north flow large rivers, sprung from the centre of the land: the Moselle, which flows toward the lower Rhine; the Meuse, which gives France an outlet into the North Sea; the Scheldt, the estuary of which forms at Antwerp the best harbor in the north of Europe; the Somme; and finally the Seine and the Loire, the two great French rivers, upon whose banks the nationality was born and grew up.

The Loire.—The Loire, so dangerous because of its sudden floods and its shifting shallows, has its sources upon a high mountain in the Vivarais, 1400 meters above the level of the sea. The Allier brings it a part of the waters of Auvergne, the Cher those of Berry, the Vienne part of the waters of Limousin and Poitou, the Mayenne those of Maine, Anjou, and Perche. In spite of the considerable volume of its waters, it is not navigable above St. Nazaire.

The Seine. — The Seine, rising in the Côte-d'Or, is fed by all the streams of Orleanais, Western Burgundy, Champagne, Picardy, and Normandy. Its principal affluents are the Yonne, the Marne, and the Oise, into which the waters of the Aisne have flowed. Below the Marne and above the Oise, in the centre of the basin, stands Paris. The river, by modern improvements, has been made navigable up to the city itself.

Exterior Valleys. — The valleys of the Garonne, the Rhone, and the Rhine are exterior or eccentric, for these three rivers have their sources outside of French territory. They have also been the last to be attached to the kingdom, the first in 1271 and 1453, the second in 1481, the third in 1648. Since the loss of Alsace France no longer touches the Rhine. If the provinces acquired three centuries ago contributed little to the formation of French nationality, they completed it admirably, bringing it almost to its natural limits. And all the activity of France extended itself out into these extremities also, which have ever since been filled with a fuller and more brilliant life than the old provinces, none of whose towns compare with Bordeaux, Marseilles, Mülhausen, and Strassburg.

The Valley of the Garonne, and the Pyrenean Isthmus. — The valley of the Garonne has, between the Pyrenees and the mountains of Auvergne, a width of 300 kilometers. From the Tarn, the Lot, the Dordogne, and other streams the river receives so considerable a quantity of water, that at Bordeaux it is seven or eight hundred meters wide.

The Pyrenean Isthmus, between the Gulf of Lyons and the Bay of Biscay, measures 320 kilometers. But in a diagonal direction it is traversed for two-thirds of its extent by the Garonne, one of the finest rivers of France, forming an admirable line of natural navigation. From the bend of the Garonne at Toulouse, to the Aude, which flows into the Mediterranean, is a distance of only 80 kilometers, with but a slight elevation intervening. Here, according to Strabo, lay one of the great routes of Gallic commerce. The Romans, and later the Visigoths, pursued this route in order to reach Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Poitiers. The Franks traversed the same road in the opposite direction to reach Narbonne. Here now passes the Languedoc canal.

This magnificent valley ought to have two great cities, the one maritime, the other agricultural and industrial: for

this phenomenon is found in the case of all our rivers. The Rhone has Lyons and Marseilles; the Loire, Orleans and Nantes; the Seine, Paris and Rouen and Havre. Identical causes explain this singular parallelism. Life is naturally concentrated at two points to correspond to the double purpose which the river serves: the exploitation of the sea and that of the land. On the Garonne these two cities are Bordeaux and Toulouse.

The Valley of the Rhone; the Camargue. — The Rhone has a longer but narrower valley. It rises in the glacier of La Furca. In the Valais, its basin is often only a league wide, at St. Maurice only a few yards. Further on lies Lake Lemman, the most beautiful lake in Europe. There the space widens, the valley enlarges. But three leagues below Geneva, at Fort l'Écluse, the Rhone again traverses a very narrow gorge. After it has turned the extremity of the Jura, its basin at last extends from the Alps to the Cévennes, but the valley is still narrow, and the river itself preserves a capricious and dangerous character. From Lyons to the sea it flows with the swiftness of an arrow. In vain are its borders embanked; it breaks through the embankment and spreads desolation far and wide, especially when a south wind has rapidly melted the snows of winter, or when abundant rains have fallen upon the Alps.

The detritus which the Rhone thus receives, it carries along its course, strewn with numerous shallows, down to the Mediterranean, into which it carries every year 20,000,000 cubic meters of solid matter. All the space from Arles to the sea has thus been filled up. A delta of sand and gravel, 74,000 hectares in extent, called the Camargue, forces the Rhone to divide into several branches, of which only one is at present navigable; and even it is closed by a bar which makes entrance extremely difficult. Therefore the great port of the Rhone valley is not at the mouth of the river, but fifty miles farther east, at Marseilles.

Tributaries of the Rhone. — The Rhone receives from the Cévennes small streams only, which, however, are subject to formidable floods. But the Jura sends it the Ain; the Alps, the Durance and the Isère. The Durance, though 320 kilometers long, is only a capricious and devastating torrent. The rocks and sands which it carries down, the rapidity of its course, its sudden changes, make it unsuited to navigation. Yet it was in the basin of the Durance that all the

old Gallic cities not situated on the seacoast or on the Rhone arose. The Isère enters the Rhone at Grenoble. Its overflows, though less frequent than those of the Durance, have sometimes been more terrible. If there were no other tributaries, the Rhone might be a good line of military defence behind the Alps: it would never have had a vital importance for commerce and politics. But by means of the Saône its basin opens toward Burgundy and Champagne, and by this means the products and the ideas of old France are imported into the provinces traversed by the Rhone. The Saône is therefore one of the great arteries of the country, a connecting link between the southeast and the north: at its confluence with the Rhone stands the largest city of France after Paris, the city of Lyons.

The Valley of the Rhine. — The courses of the Rhine and the Rhone are mutually symmetrical. Rising upon opposite slopes of the St. Gothard, they flow rapidly away, the one toward the north, the other toward the west. Near Bregenz, the Rhine enters Lake Constance, just as the Rhone enters the Lake of Geneva. Each turns an extremity of the Jura, the one then impinging upon the Cévennes, the other upon the Vosges, which force them to assume their final directions, the one toward the Mediterranean, the other toward the North Sea.

Less swift and impetuous, the Rhine makes longer detours. From Basel to the neighborhood of Mainz, its course is impeded by the numerous islands which have so often facilitated the passage of the river by armies. Further down, the beauty of its scenery, its towns, the rich culture of its slopes, the feudal ruins upon its heights, make this valley one of the most beautiful in Europe. Below Cologne, the Rhine flows gently towards Holland, increased by the Neckar, the Main, and the Moselle. Like the Rhone, it divides into several branches, of which the Waal and the Lech join the Meuse, the Yssel flows into the Zuyder Zee, while the branch which continues to bear the name of Rhine has at Leyden, after a course of 1200 kilometers, only the width of a large canal. The Waal and the Lech put the Rhine into communication with the great estuary of the Meuse, and thus throw it open to navigation.

Communication between the River Basins. — The Cévennes and the Vosges are not so high as to prevent inter-communication. In the south they permit the passage of the Lan-

guedoc canal; in the centre, of those of Charolais and Burgundy; in the north, of that connecting the Marne with the Rhine. Their outlying spurs present still less serious obstacles. Canals have been constructed which connect the Seine with the Loire, the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone; the Rhone with the Rhine and the Garonne; the Marne and the Meuse with the Saône.

Great Lines of Depression and Population of the French Territory. — The general outlines of France run parallel to the equator and the meridians. Its frontier from Bayonne to Antibes runs in the direction of the parallels of latitude. The western shores of the Bay of Biscay and the Cotentin, and on the east, the line of the Alps, the Jura, and the Rhine, almost exactly follow two meridians. The great interior routes take the same direction. Thus if one were to trace upon a map of France a square having its four corners at Caen, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Dunkirk, and having as diagonals two curved lines drawn from Marseilles to Havre and from Bordeaux to Strassburg, he would have marked the great lines of depression of the soil of Gaul, those which the great roads, railroads, and canals now in use or projected have followed. Herein lies the explanation of some of the facts of history. These hollows of the mountains, these depressions of the soil, afford, in fact, the only and natural pathways which men have long followed. War, commerce, ideas, and, in a word, the whole life of nations, have passed along these natural paths. At their entrances, at their exits, and at their middle points, great cities have arisen like so many halting-places for merchants and for armies, like so many luminous points from which civilization has radiated all around. The great lines of depression of the soil have been not only the great lines of communication and population, but also the great paths of French unity and nationality. If there had been high mountains between all the great rivers of France, the inhabitants of each valley would for long ages have formed a separate nation. In hermetically enclosed valleys, life is exclusive and patriotism local. The least open of the great valleys of France, that of the Garonne, has also been the one whose population has most energetically resisted centralizing influences. The Loire and the Seine, on the contrary, between which communication is so easy, have almost always followed the same laws. Paris and Orleans were the two patri-

monial cities of the French kings, and the first acquisition made by reviving royalty was Bourges. The Valois even seemed to hesitate between the two rivers. Blois and Tours were for some time the capitals of Henry III. and Henry IV. The Saône, too, has almost always been dependent upon the Seine. Burgundy scarcely ever had any other than Capetian dukes. Lyons, Grenoble, and Montpellier were in the hands of the French king a century before Bordeaux.

Unity and Central Situation of the French Territory.— One of the great causes of the physical, and therefore of the moral unity of France is, assuredly, this facility of communication between its different valleys. They descend to all the seas, yet are easily connected one with another. There is unity in variety, the best condition for the development of a great society and a powerful civilization. Variety of climate and natural productions is included. Moreover, if France is not in a material sense the centre of Europe, it nevertheless occupies a position central with respect to the European waters, the Mediterranean, the Bay of Biscay, the Channel, and the North Sea, and with respect to the principal nations of the Continent, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and England. Hence have come its long wars and the dangers which it has so often encountered, but hence also has come the influence it has so often exerted abroad.

FIRST PERIOD.



GAUL INDEPENDENT.—To 50 B.C.



CHAPTER I.

PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS: MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

(To 125 B.C.)

Primitive Populations.—Unknown races at first inhabited Gaul, at the same time with the reindeer and the mammoth, and remains of prehistoric man have frequently been found in caves,—his arms, his implements of bone or stone, and even his rude drawings,—mingled with remains of animals now extinct. At the dawn of history Gaul appears divided among three or four hundred tribes belonging to the great families of the Celts and the Iberians.

The Celts.—The Celts had marched westward at an unknown epoch from the plains of Central Asia, where they had been associated with the ancestors of the Greeks, the Italians, the Slavs, and the Germans. During this march numerous bodies halted in the valley of the Danube and all along the Alps, while the head of the column advanced westward to the shores of the Atlantic. Brittany and Ireland also became part of their domain. Over this vast territory the Celts extended their settlements and multiplied. Their language shows the relationship which united the Celts or Gauls with the great family of Indo-European nations. This language is still spoken in Brittany, in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland. The Belgæ, whom some have regarded as a distinct race, occupied Northern Gaul about 600 B.C.

The Iberians or Basques.—The Celts had found a people established in Gaul before their arrival, the Iberians, who,

under the name of Aquitanians, were gradually pushed back to the south of the Garonne. Their language, the Basque, still spoken in the Pyrenees, is related to that of the Finns.

The Phœnicians and Greeks.—The adventurous navigators of Tyre and Carthage, who so early voyaged around all the shores of the Mediterranean, appeared also at the mouths of the Rhone. At first they traded along the coast, then advanced into the interior of the country. The Greeks, following the Phœnicians into the western Mediterranean, ended by supplanting them in Gaul. The Rhodians established themselves at the mouths of the Rhone, while the Phœnician colonies of the interior were falling into the hands of the natives. About the year 600 the Phocæans founded Marseilles.

Character, Manners, and Customs of Gaul.—All the Celtic and Belgian tribes had customs very nearly alike, and in the eyes of foreigners they formed but one single people. The Greeks and Romans noted especially their courage. "It is an indomitable race," said they, "which makes war not only upon men, but upon nature and the gods; they shoot their arrows up against the sky when it thunders: they take arms against tempests: they march with sword in hand against overflowing rivers or the angry ocean." Their nature was as generous as brave. "Every one," says Strabo, "resents injuries done to his neighbor, and so keenly that they all assemble to take revenge for them."

Diodorus Siculus describes the Gauls as tall, with fair complexions and light hair. "The nobles," he says, "shave their beards, but let their moustaches grow. They take their feasts seated upon the skins of wolves or dogs; whole quarters of meat are provided. They honor the brave by offering them the best portions. They are hospitable but quarrelsome, and are much given to hyperbole. They are intelligent, and susceptible to instruction. They also have poets who are called bards, and who sing the praise or the blame of men, accompanying themselves upon an instrument resembling a lyre. . . ."

Costumes, Arms, and Mode of Fighting.—"The Gauls," he says, "wear tunics of variegated color, breeches, and plaid cloaks attached to their shoulders by clasps. For defensive armor they have shields as tall as a man, artistically decorated, and brazen helmets fantastically adorned. Some of them confine their tunics with girdles of gold and silver.

Their swords are nearly as long as the javelins of other nations, and the heavy pikes which they throw have points longer than their swords. In travel and in battle many of them make use of two-horse chariots. They hurl the lance, and then at once alight to attack the enemy with the sword. Some of them despise death to such a degree that they rush into battle without other covering than a girdle around the body. Before joining battle they challenge individual enemies to single combat, sing the prowess of their ancestors, vaunt their own valor, and insult their adversaries. They cut off the heads of their vanquished enemies and preserve them as trophies."

Various Customs. — Women were free in the choice of their husbands, to whom they brought a dowry. The husband had rights of life and death over his wife and over his children. "The funerals of their chieftains," says Cæsar, "are magnificent. Whatever is supposed to have been dear to the deceased is thrown upon the funeral pyre, even animals. A little time before the expedition of Cæsar it was still the custom to burn with the dead the slaves and retainers whom he was known to have loved."

Religion. — The Gauls at first worshipped the thunder, stars, the ocean, rivers, lakes, the wind, — in a word, the forces of nature. Later, the Druids undoubtedly taught the people to worship moral and intelligent forces: Hesus, the God of War; Teutates, the God of Commerce and inventor of the arts; and Ogmius, the God of Poetry and Eloquence. The feast of Teutates was celebrated on the first night of the new year, in the forest, by the light of torches. To Hesus they often, before the battle, dedicated the spoils of the enemy, and, after the victory, they sacrificed to him what remained of the cattle which they had captured.

The Druids. — The priests of the Gauls, the Druids, had elevated beliefs, including a doctrine of rewards and punishments in the future life. But horrible superstitions, human sacrifices, stained the rude altars which they raised in the depths of ancestral forests or in the midst of desolate plains. "The Gauls," says Cæsar, "think that the life of a man must be paid to secure that of another man, and that the immortal gods can be appeased only at this price: they have even instituted public sacrifices of this sort. They sometimes weave, of osiers, large constructions resembling the human figure, which they fill with living men: they

then set fire to it and cause their victims to perish in the flames."

All the Druids had a single chief whose authority was unlimited. His successor was elected by the other Druids. "At a certain period in the year they assemble in a consecrated place on the frontier of the territory of the Carnutes, which is regarded as the central point of all Gaul, and there their disputes are settled, but their doctrine is believed to have originated in Britain. The Druids do not go to war, and pay no taxes. To enter this order it is necessary to learn a great number of verses, and there are those who pass twenty years in this novitiate. It is not allowed to commit these verses to writing, though, in most other public and private affairs, the Greek letters are used. A belief which they especially seek to establish is that the souls of men do not perish, but after death pass from one body to another, a belief which seems to them especially adapted to inspire courage, by removing the fear of death. The movements of the stars, the immensity of the universe, the greatness of the earth, the nature of things, the power of the immortal gods, such are the subjects of their discussions and teachings."

Bards, Soothsayers, and Prophetesses. — Associated with the order of Druids, we find bards, soothsayers, and prophetesses. These last redoubtable magicians loved to live upon wild promontories beaten by a stormy sea. The soothsayers were charged with all the material affairs of worship. It was they who sought for revelations of the future in the entrails of victims or by consulting the flight of birds. A Gaul undertook no important act without having recourse to their divinations. While the power of the Druids was undisputed, the bards were the sacred poets, called upon at all religious ceremonies. They celebrated the praises of the powerful and rich military chieftains. From singers of the gods and heroes, they became the courtiers of men. At the tables of the great they paid by their verses for the privilege of entertainment.

Druidical Monuments. — Monuments called druidical are still found in great numbers in the western provinces of France. First, there are the *menhirs*, enormous blocks of rough stone fixed in the soil, isolated or ranged in avenues like those of Carnac. The *cromlechs* were menhirs ranged in a circle or in several concentric circles: the *dolmens* were rude

altars formed by one or several great flat stones, placed horizontally upon upright stones. These singular monuments, though called druidical, are really due to an earlier period, and are, in fact, the grand architecture of the stone age. Sometimes they bear rude carvings and various symbols, — crescents, round holes arranged in circles, spirals, and figures, which perhaps represent animals, or trees with interlacing branches. A large number of these megalithic monuments are found in Brittany, along the Loire, in Poitou, Auvergne, and the Cévennes: but they are also to be found in other parts of the world, and are the work of very various populations, representing, at very different epochs, a similar stage of civilization. Tumuli, or mounds of earth heaped up over a tomb, are also found in France.

Ideas are as durable as granite. Some relics of druidical ceremony were still practised, not two centuries ago, in the forests of Dauphiny; and many traces of them might even now be found in the remoter parts of the provinces.

Government. — The Druids, ministers of a sanguinary worship and sole depositories of all knowledge, long held sway through intellectual superiority and religious terror. About three centuries before our era the chiefs of the tribes and the nobles, by a bloody revolution, threw off the yoke of the priestly caste. But after its victory the military aristocracy found two enemies: some of their number made themselves kings; elsewhere the inferior classes, especially the inhabitants of the towns, rose in revolt. The Druids took sides with the rebels against the nobles, and in most of the tribes aristocratic and royal government was abolished and replaced by democratic governments of varied constitution.

State of Gaul in 58 B.C. — This revolution had just been accomplished when Cæsar entered Gaul. He found in the country, he tells us, only two sorts of men who were honored: the Druids and the nobles. "As for the multitude, their lot is little better than that of slaves. The Druids, as ministers of divine things, perform the public sacrifices and are the judges of the people. If an individual does not submit to their decision, they interdict him from the sacrifices: this is the rarest of punishments among them. Those who incur this interdiction are avoided by all: all privileges of justice are refused them, and they have no part in any honors.

“The second class is that of the nobles, who, in the frequent times of war, are surrounded by numbers of retainers proportioned to the distinction of their birth and wealth. Some of these retainers devote themselves to their chieftain for life or death. They share all the goods of life with those to whom they have thus devoted themselves: if the chief dies a violent death, they share his fate, and kill themselves with their own hands: and it has not yet occurred within the memory of man that one of those who have devoted themselves to a chieftain by such an agreement has refused, when the chief has died, to accompany him in death at once.” There were general assemblies in which public affairs were discussed.

Industry; Commerce. — The Phœnicians and the Greeks had taught the Gauls the art of mining. The Ædui (in Burgundy) had manufactures of gold and silver, the Bituriges (in Berry) of iron. The Bituriges and Arverni practised the art of welding tin to copper. The Ædui invented metal plating. Gaul was not less distinguished for the arts of weaving and knitting: its dyes were not without reputation. In agriculture the Gauls devised the wheel plough and the use of marl as a manure. They composed various sorts of fermented drinks: and many of their coins are extant.

Commerce could not be highly active, for there were but few objects of exchange, yet the Sequani (Franche-Comté) sent salted provisions down the Saône and the Rhone to Marseilles, whence they were exported to Italy and Greece. Gaul also exported coarse cloths, and had a considerable trade with Britain.

CHAPTER II.

MIGRATIONS OF THE GAULS.

(To 123 B.C.)

Invasion of Spain. — Led on by their warlike spirit, the Celts of the valley of the Danube and of Gaul fell upon all the neighboring countries. They went to seek their fortune beyond the Alps and beyond the Pyrenees, in Greece, and even in Asia. Having pushed back the Aquitanians from the banks of the Loire to those of the Garonne, they made their way, at a period of unknown antiquity, into Spain. The Celtiberians of a later time, the people who made the most vigorous resistance to the Romans, were a mixture of Celts and Iberians.

Invasion of Italy (587 B.C.); Capture of Rome (390 B.C.). — About the year 587 the Insubres, the Cenomani, the Boii, and the Senones invaded and conquered the north of Italy. Their wars with the Romans were long and sanguinary: alone among all the enemies of Rome they scaled those walls which Pyrrhus and Hannibal were barely able to view from a distance. In 390 B.C. 30,000 Senones invaded Etruria and demanded lands from the inhabitants of Clusium, who shut their gates and implored the assistance of Rome. The senate sent three ambassadors, the three Fabii, to interpose their mediation. Irritated at their reception, and forgetting their character of ambassadors, the Fabii took part with the besieged in a sortie.

Immediately the barbarians broke off their hostilities against Clusium and demanded reparation from Rome. But all reparation was refused. At news of this the Senones, re-enforced by other bands, marched on Rome, and inflicted a tremendous defeat on the Romans on the banks of the river Allia, near the city. The inhabitants retired to the citadel, or deserted the city in panic, and the Gauls entered it without opposition. But the Capitol still held out. The barbarians attempted to scale it, but the Romans had little difficulty in repulsing them, and they were obliged to under-

take a blockade. For seven months, it is said, the Gauls encamped amid the ruins of Rome. A night attack on the Capitol was frustrated by Manlius: but provisions became exhausted, and Camillus, who had been proclaimed dictator by the Romans at Veii, did not appear. The military tribune, Sulpicius, agreed with the generalissimo of the Gauls, who was summoned back to his own country by an attack of the Veneti, that the Gauls should withdraw on payment of a ransom of a thousand pounds of gold.

The barbarians withdrew: but Camillus annulled the treaty by virtue of his authority as dictator. Some slight successes were gained over the retreating Gauls. Roman vanity took advantage of them to assert in after ages a victory so complete that not a single barbarian had escaped the avenging sword of the soldiers of Camillus.

War of Rome against the Cisalpine Gauls (283 B.C.–192 B.C.). — Rome could not take revenge until a century later. In 283 the consul Dolabella penetrated into the country of the Senones with superior forces. He burned their villages, killed the men, sold the women and children, and did not leave the country until he had made it a desert. Yet it was not until 232 that Rome dared to order the distribution among its poor citizens of the lands taken from this nation. The Boii refused to allow the Romans to settle so near them, and at their summons almost all the Cisalpine Gauls took the field. A formidable army marched on Rome. Terror was at its height in the city. All Italy was aroused to repulse the Gauls. They came within three days' journey of the city; but, enclosed between two armies near Cape Telamon, they were signally defeated (215 B.C.). The senate decided to make the very greatest effort to deliver Italy from such dangers. Two consuls crossed the Po, and succeeded in conquering the territory of the Insubres.

The Gauls of the valley of the Po appeared to be completely subjected, when Hannibal descended from the Alps with a Carthaginian army, which he had led thither from Spain. The Boii had guided his march across the Alps. After the victories of the Ticinus and the Trebia, the Cisalpine Gauls hastened in great numbers to his camp. They followed him in his march toward Rome, and it was with Gallic blood that he gained the victories of Lake Trasimenus and Cannæ. When his marvellous struggle had ended, after the battle of Zama, Rome resumed the work of con-

quest which had been interrupted by his arrival: her legions pushed the frontier of the Republic forward to the Alps. The Boii abandoned their land and went to seek upon the borders of the Danube, in two countries which have preserved their name, Bohemia (*Boiohemum*) and Bavaria (*Boiaria*), a country in which they could live in freedom (192 B.C.).

Invasions of Greece. — At an earlier time the Gauls had established themselves in the valley of the Danube. Alexander found them there as he approached that river, and gave them the title of allies and friends. Half a century later we discover them again, this time in arms and threatening hostility. About the year 280 B.C., three new tribes from Gaul joined them, and the whole body decided to invade Macedonia and Thrace. A formidable army forced its way into Macedonia. The phalanx was broken through, and all the low country fell into the hands of the Gauls. They then withdrew to put their plunder in a place of security. Macedonia breathed again: but during the winter the Gauls gathered together new forces, and in the spring of 279 B.C., again entered the country of the Macedonians, crushed their last army, and descended into Thessaly in enormous force. All the men of courage that still remained to Greece hastened to Thermopylæ in order there to check the host, and the last ships of Athens took up their station in the Malian gulf to aid in the defence of the pass. Vigorously repulsed from Thermopylæ, the Gauls discovered the path which had opened Greece to Xerxes, and which, strangely enough, had not been more carefully guarded this time. They immediately marched upon Delphi in order to plunder its treasures. Repulsed from Delphi, which they seem however to have pillaged, the Gauls made a retreat which the attacks of the mountaineers rendered highly disastrous. Hunger and cold caused them terrible sufferings. Their general, dangerously wounded, killed himself to escape the anger of his soldiers or the shame of his defeat (278 B.C.).

The Gauls in the Valley of the Danube; in Asia (Galatians). — The fragments of the Gallic army returned to the north. Some remained upon the banks of the Danube, where they formed the great tribe of the Scordisci: others joined their companions who were encamped in Thrace. The Gauls of the Danube served frequently as mercenaries

in the armies of the time. They furnished Pyrrhus with his best soldiers.

The Gauls of Thrace had a more brilliant fortune. Two princes were then disputing the crown of Bithynia, in Asia Minor. One of them took the Gauls into his pay. They set him upon the throne: then, finding the country good, the inhabitants timid, and the cities rich, they roved about over the peninsula for forty years, levying contributions from princes and peoples. Driven back finally into the centre of the peninsula, they established themselves under several chieftains in the country which from them received the name of Galatia. When the Roman legions had vanquished Antiochus, king of Syria, at Magnesia, the consul Manlius made a successful expedition against the Galatians (189 B.C.).

Contented with having defeated the Galatians, Rome left them their liberty, which they retained until 25 B.C. At that time, without further warfare, Galatia was reduced to the form of a Roman province: but, four centuries later, St. Jerome found again, in the district around Ancyra, the language which in his youth he had heard spoken upon the banks of the Moselle and the Rhine. These restless adventurers, whom one would have supposed so prompt to lose in their wanderings the remembrance of their country and so ready to adopt the manners of other nations, still piously preserved their ancestral customs and language. So in our days, in the midst of English rule, upon the banks of the St. Lawrence and in the remote valleys of the Cape of Good Hope, is still preserved the tongue which was brought there from the banks of the Seine and the Loire by the colonists of Henry IV. or of Colbert and the Huguenots of the dispersion. The race so often spoken of as light-headed has shown on foreign soil the same persistence as the Bretons in their native district.

CHAPTER III.

CONQUEST OF GAUL BY THE ROMANS.

(125-50 B.C.)

Formation of the Provincia Narbonensis (125).—It was years before Rome dared to attack the Gauls. Nevertheless it was necessary for her to secure, at any price, an overland route from Italy to Spain. The Greeks of Marseilles, long the allies of Rome, furnished her an opportunity to do this. Attacked by the neighboring tribes, Marseilles had applied to the Roman senate, and a Roman army after having conquered the Ligurians gave their lands to the Massilians (154). In the year 125, fresh complaints led the legions to march a second time against the Salyes, who were defeated. This time Rome kept what she had conquered; she thus had a new province between the Rhone and the Alps, with its capital at Aix (Aquæ Sextiæ, 122). The Ædui, between the Saône and the Loire, at once asked to be admitted into alliance with Rome. The Allobroges, on the contrary, attacked her, but were defeated (121). The following year the Romans also defeated the king of the Arverni. All the country on both sides of the Rhone up to the Lake of Geneva was united to the province, which, in the following year; was extended to the Pyrenees. The Volcæ Tectosages, dwelling around Toulouse, accepted the title of *federati*; and the colony of Narbo Martius (Narbonne) was founded, to watch over the new subjects (118).

The Cimbri and Teutones (110); Battle of Aix (102).—The invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones came near sweeping away this recently established domination. Three hundred thousand of these barbarians crossed the Rhine, spread over Gaul, and, on the borders of the Rhone, crushed successively three Roman armies. But, instead of crossing the Alps, they passed over the Pyrenees and wasted their time and their strength in fighting against the warlike Celtiberians. This was the salvation of Rome. She had time to send Marius to guard her province in Gaul. That skilful

general placed his camp on the left bank of the Rhone, and labored to restore discipline in the army.

It was near Aix that the horde encountered him. He was camped on a hill where the supply of water was insufficient. In crossing a river which lay in front of them, the barbarians broke their lines and had not had time to reform them, when the Romans came down upon them from their elevated position with such overwhelming force that they were obliged, after a bloody struggle, to take to flight. The Romans, after this first victory, regained their position at night-fall, but passed the whole night in watching and apprehension, expecting a nocturnal attack. But the Teutones did not come out of their camp either that night or the next day; they employed their time in preparing for battle. This second battle, which took place two days after the first, was not more successful for the barbarians; attacked in front by the legions, surprised in the rear by a lieutenant of Marius, they could not resist. The massacre was horrible, as in all the battles of the ancients, in which men fought hand to hand.

The Suevi and the Helvetii; Cæsar in Gaul (58).—The civil wars prevented Rome from following up this victory. Meanwhile the Suevi set out upon the path which the Cimbri had undertaken to follow; 120,000 of them entered the valley of the Saône under Ariovistus. The Ædui and the Sequani (in Burgundy and Franche-Comté) implored the protection of Rome against them. At the same time the Helvetii in Switzerland, incessantly harassed by the Germans, proposed to abandon the country, cross Gaul, and settle on the shore of the Ocean. Julius Cæsar, who was consul at the time, wishing, for political purposes, to acquire military resources and prestige, had himself appointed governor of Illyricum and the two Gauls (Cisalpine and Transalpine), with orders to repress the Helvetii and drive away the Suevi.

First Campaign (58); Submission of the Valley of the Saône.—Cæsar began with the Helvetii; he repulsed them in a great battle on the borders of the Saône, and forced them to return to their country. This first expedition finished, he marched against Ariovistus and by a bloody battle put the barbarians to flight. Ariovistus recrossed the river with a few of his men; the rest of the Suevi returned to their forests. Two formidable wars had been terminated in a single campaign (58).

Second and Third Campaigns; Conquest of Gallia Belgica (57), of Armorica and Aquitania (56).—The Belgæ, disturbed at seeing the legions so near them, took up arms, and in the spring Cæsar encountered on the banks of the Aisne 300,000 barbarians renowned as the bravest in all Gaul. A skilful diversion caused certain tribes to withdraw, and a cavalry charge turned this retreat into a disorderly flight. The coalition dissolved, it was necessary to conquer, one after the other, all these tribes. The Suessiones, the Bellovaci, and the Ambiani (Soissons, Beauvais, and Amiens) made no resistance; but the Nervii (Hainault) awaited the legions behind the Sambre and came near exterminating them. Finally the whole Nervian army was destroyed. This desperate battle placed Gallia Belgica at Cæsar's feet.

The next year Cæsar himself attacked the Veneti (Morbihan), defeated them in a naval battle, and reduced them to subjection. At the same time Sabinus in the north had dispersed the army of the Aulerci (Le Mans), the Eburovices (Évreux), the Unelli (St. Lô), and the Lexovii (Lisieux). In the south, Crassus had penetrated without hindrance as far as the Garonne, and received the submission of almost all Aquitania. The conquest of Gaul seemed complete (56).

Fourth and Fifth Campaigns; Expeditions beyond the Rhine and into Britain (55–54).—An invasion by the Usipetes and the Tencteri, with difficulty repulsed, and the assistance which, the preceding year, the Armoricans had received from the island of Britain, showed Cæsar that he would be obliged to isolate Gaul from Britain and Germany. He then crossed the Rhine, terrified the neighboring tribes, and returned to strike a sudden blow at Britain. The disembarkation was difficult; but the Romans landed after a battle in the midst of the waves. The tide and a violent wind dispersed a squadron which was bringing Cæsar's cavalry to him, and shattered his ships of burden. He hastened to give battle to the islanders in order to be able to return quickly but with honor to the continent. He reappeared in Britain the following year. This time he forced the Britains to give him hostages and to promise an annual tribute.

Ambiorix.—The war with the Gauls was supposed to be finished; in reality it had scarcely begun. Until then the tribes had fought separately; united movements were now

to follow. In order to keep them in subjection Cæsar had favored the elevation of certain ambitious persons in some tribes, or formed a Roman party in others. The deceptive calm and apparent resignation of the chiefs of the Gauls inspired him with a sense of complete security, and a famine rendering provisions scarce, he scattered his eight legions over a wide territory. But a vast conspiracy existed, of which Ambiorix, a chief of the Eburones, and Indutiomarus, a Treveran, were the leading spirits. It was their intention to take up arms, call the Germans, and attack the legions in their quarters, cutting off entirely all communications between them. The secret was well kept. Ambiorix, on his part, making a sudden attack, massacred a whole legion and attacked the camp of Quintus Cicero. On the north and east of the Loire the movement became general.

In spite of his vigilance it was some time before Cæsar learned of Cicero's danger. He had at command only 7000 men, and the assailants numbered at least 60,000; nevertheless he attacked them, and delivered Cicero's camp. Labienus was equally successful against the Treveri; he killed Indutiomarus. Ambiorix escaped, but the Eburones were exterminated.

Sixth Campaign; General Revolt; Vercingetorix (52). — During the winter a new insurrection was prepared; the signal for it came from the country of the Carnutes (Chartres). All the Romans established at Genabum (Gien) were massacred; the same day the news of it was transmitted to Gergovia (near Clermont), about 150 miles distant. There was living there a young and noble Arvernian, Vercingetorix. As soon as he heard of the massacre of Genabum, he aroused the people, had himself invested with military command, and caused the meeting of a supreme council of the tribes of Gaul. From the Garonne to the Seine, all the tribes responded to his appeal and bestowed on him the conduct of the war. He pushed forward his preparations with energy, and gave the league an organization, which in all the previous attempts of the Gauls had not been achieved. His plan of attack was skilful: one of his lieutenants was to march southward and invade Gallia Narbonensis, while he himself was to march to the north against the legions; but a slight delay gave Cæsar time to return from Italy. In a few days the proconsul organized the defence of the province, drove off the enemy, crossed the Cévennes in spite

of six feet of snow, and desolated the whole Arvernian territory. Then, recrossing the mountains, he went along the Rhone and Saône by forced marches, and joined the main body of his legions. His courage and his tremendous activity had baffled the double project of the Gallic general.

Cæsar recaptured Genabum, crossed the Loire, and began taking the towns of the Bituriges. Vercingetorix saw that with such an adversary it would be necessary to fight another war. The Bituriges and other tribes heroically burned their villages in order to starve the enemy, but their intention was not fully carried out; Avaricum (Bourges), the capital of the country, was spared; Cæsar went there at once. In twenty-five days he had constructed his towers for attack, and an earthwork 300 feet long and 80 feet high. The town was taken. The provisions which he found in it fed his army during the last three months of winter; when spring came, he detached Labienus with four legions against the Senones (Sens) and the Parisii (Paris), while he himself conducted the rest of the army against the Arverni (Auvergne). But Vercingetorix covered Gergovia (near Clermont); he repelled an attack in which forty-six centurions perished, and Cæsar retreated, to rejoin Labienus, and boldly marched northward, leaving 100,000 Gauls between him and Gallia Narbonensis.

The league of the north had taken as its chief Camulogenus, an old warrior, skilful and energetic, who had taken up his headquarters at Lutetia (Paris). Attacked by Labienus, Camulogenus burned the city and the bridges, and retired to the heights on the left bank. Labienus crossed the Seine, and defeated him in a bloody action. Camulogenus perished with almost all his warriors, and Labienus joined his general. Cæsar encountered Vercingetorix not far from the Saône. The Gallic cavalymen had sworn that they would never see their wives and children again till they had crossed the Roman lines at least twice. Cæsar incurred the greatest dangers, but his legions bravely withstood that furious charge, and, in their turn, pursued the enemy, who fled in disorder to the very walls of Alesia.

Siege of Alesia (52). — Alesia, situated on the top of a steep hill, was considered one of the strongest positions in Gaul. In front of her walls, on the sides of the hill, Vercingetorix laid out a camp for his army, which numbered about 80,000 foot-soldiers and 10,000 cavalry. Cæsar con-

ceived the bold design of ending the war with one blow by besieging at once both the city and the army. Works were begun. Lines of circumvallation ten miles long and of elaborate construction were drawn around the town and the hostile camp. All these works were repeated on the side next the open country, where the contravallation had a circuit of sixteen miles. Five weeks and less than 60,000 men sufficed for this undertaking. Vercingetorix, sending away his cavalry, promised to hold out thirty days, and called on the Gallic tribes to rise in a body. His appeal was responded to; 248,000 tried warriors assembled from all parts of Gaul to deliver their brethren: they dashed themselves against the impregnable ramparts of the legions. After having sustained several assaults, Cæsar led the attack himself, repulsed the Gauls, cut their rear guard in pieces, spread panic through their ranks, and scattered them. This time Gaul was thoroughly and forever conquered.

The garrison of Alesia had no alternative but to accept such terms of capitulation as it pleased the conqueror to grant. Vercingetorix came in and surrendered himself. Six years later, after having graced Cæsar's triumph, he was put to death.

Seventh Campaign (51); Pacification of Gaul (50). — Some movements on the north and east were still to be suppressed. Cæsar chastised the communities of the Bituriges (Bourges), the Carnutes (Chartres), and the Bellovaci (Beauvais); all the tribes of the northeast renewed their promises of obedience. He overran Gallia Belgica, exacted hostages of the Armorican communities, and stifled all insurrection between the Loire and the Garonne. There was soon no longer any war except among the Cadurci (Cahors) at Uxellodunum. Cæsar reduced that city, and caused the hands of all those whom he found in it to be cut off.

This odious deed was the last act in the terrible struggle which decided that the Gauls should not remain free to follow the natural development of their national genius. Their native civilization was further advanced than the usual accounts would indicate; and, if it is not possible to say what this civilization, left to its own inspirations, would have become, we may feel justified in honoring a heroic resistance and pitying the premature end of a great, brave people.

For Rome the Gallic war ended gloriously the list of the

conquests of the Republic. Cæsar had employed in them eight years, ten legions, and the inexhaustible resources of Roman discipline, of his own military genius and incomparable energy. Gaul was reduced to a province, but the cities retained their laws and their governments; the only sign of the conquest was a tribute of forty million sesterces (\$1,600,000).

SECOND PERIOD.



GAUL UNDER THE ROMANS (50 B.C. — 476 A.D.).



CHAPTER IV.

THE GAULS UNDER THE EMPIRE.

(50 B.C. — 395 A.D.)

Organization of Gaul by Augustus. — The civil war and his premature death prevented Cæsar from paying much attention to Gaul. Augustus, even, could not think of doing so, until after he had become sole master of the Roman world. Visiting Gaul in 27 B.C., he changed the boundaries of the provinces and the names of several cities. Aquitania was extended to the Loire. Gallia Celtica, or Lugdunénsis, was limited to the countries comprised between the Loire, the Seine, and the Marne. The rest formed Gallia Belgica.

Numerous Roman colonies were established in Gaul. Fréjus became one of the great arsenals of the Empire, and Arles was greatly enlarged. The capitals of the Suessiones (Soissons), the Veromandui (St. Quentin), the Tricasses (Troyes), the Ausci (Auch), and the Treveri (Trier) took the name of Augusta. The city of the Turones became Cæsaro-dunum (Tours); that of the Lemovices was called Augustoritum (Limoges), and Bibracte, Augustodunum (Autun).

Privileges were unequally distributed; the Ædui, the Remi, and the Carnutes retained the title of allies; the Santones, the Arverni, the Bituriges, and the Suessiones, their laws. Finally, Gaul was divided into sixty municipalities; that is, the number of recognized Gallic tribes was reduced to that figure. Each of these sixty cities became responsible for disturbances which broke out within its territory. Lugdunum (Lyons) was made the centre of the

imperial administration in Gaul. Four great military highways extended thence to the Ocean, to the Rhine, to the Channel and along the Rhone and the Mediterranean coast to the Pyrenees. Augustus forbade human sacrifices and promised municipal rights to those alone who should abandon the druidical worship. The province quickly became Roman.

Reorganization in the Fourth Century.—This first organization was modified in the fourth century. A prefecture of the Gauls was then formed, the seat of which was at Trier, and which comprised the three dioceses of Spain, Britain, and Gaul, the last divided into seventeen provinces, which were subdivided into 120 municipalities. The *praetorian prefect*, the *vicar* of the diocese, the seventeen *presidents* or governors of provinces, exercised only civil authority; military authority was vested in the *comites* and *duces*.

Each city ruled over the minor towns of its territory. In each, a hereditary senate and municipal officers managed the affairs of the city and its territory, under the direction of the governor of the province. This governor revised, upon appeal, the sentences rendered by the municipal senates, and he received the taxes, the assessment and collection of which were made by the municipal council itself. In 365 Valentinian instituted a *defender of the city*, charged with defending its interests against the imperial officers and against oppressions of every kind. This office was almost immediately and nearly everywhere bestowed upon the bishops, and became the basis of their power in the cities.

Roman Civilization in Gaul.—The Gauls carried into peaceful employments the energy which they had shown during times of war. The druidical forests were hewn down, or were cut through by roads. Cities were multiplied; Greek art planted itself among them. Triumphal arches, temples, circuses, theatres, and aqueducts were constructed, and not always by the hands of foreign artists. Orange still preserves a triumphal arch, the most beautiful one which the Romans have left in France; Vienne, the temple of Augustus and Livia; Nîmes, one of the best preserved of the Roman amphitheatres, the Maison-Carrée, and also, at a short distance from the town, the Pont du Gard. This colossal construction, which crosses the valley of the Gardon at an elevation of forty-eight meters, was only a part of the immense aqueducts of that city. At the same period the

schools of Bordeaux, Autun, Lyons, and Vienne rivalled those of Greece, and conquered Gaul sent to the masters of the world grammarians, orators, and poets; Valerius Cato, called the Latin Siren, Cornelius Gallus, the elegiac poet, and friend of Virgil and Augustus; Trogius Pompeius, the first Latin author of a universal history; Domitius Afer, the master of Quintilian and Petronius; Favorinus, a celebrated sophist, a friend of Plutarch and the emperor Hadrian, was himself astonished that, being a Gaul, he should be able to speak Greek so fluently. Later, there flourished, in the fourth century, the amiable poet Ausonius; in the fifth, Sidonius Apollinaris, poet and bishop.

Commerce and industry were developed even more rapidly than the arts and letters. In the time of Augustus the most flourishing cities were found only at the points where Gaul touched Italy; as early as the second century, industry had spread through the whole country and brought wealth with it. Toulouse eclipsed Narbonne; Nîmes surpassed the ancient Phocæan city of Marseilles. Lyons, the ancient metropolis, feared a rival in the city of the Treveri (Trier). Mainz, Cologne, twenty other cities bordering on the Rhine; Vienne, Autun, and Rheims, with their schools; Lutetia (Paris), which became the residence of the Cæsars; Langres and Saintes, with their manufacture of woollen cloaks; Bordeaux, the principal port for Spain and Britain, show life spreading in every quarter.

Not only did the language, laws, and arts of Rome take possession of Gaul, but also the Roman life. Yet the Gallic nationality was not completely stifled under this foreign civilization. The old Celtic idiom existed, particularly in the west and in the north. Many of the customs, also, were retained. Druidism itself, though persecuted by the emperors, had not entirely disappeared.

Christianity in Gaul. — As early as the second century there were Christians beyond the Alps. Lyons had the first Gallic church and the first martyrs. Towards the middle of the century there had arrived in that city some priests of the church of Smyrna, having as their head the bishop Pothinus, a disciple of Saint Polycarp, who himself, in his youth, had heard the apostle John. Pothinus, in a few years, won over a large number to the faith. One day the populace of Lyons rose against the Christians. Conducted before the governor, the faithful were condemned to torture.

The greater part of them faced martyrdom. Pothinus died in prison at the age of ninety. Forty-seven other confessors perished, being either devoured by lions, or put to the sword (177).

The church of Lyons, scattered for the moment, was again reunited by St. Irenæus. The Gospel of Christ had not yet been carried into the rest of Gaul. About the year 250 seven bishops set out from Rome to accomplish its conversion. Paul, Trophimus, and Saturninus established themselves at Narbonne, Arles, and Toulouse; Martial and Gatian went to Limoges and Tours; Stremonius, to the country of the Arverni; and Dionysius (St. Denis), to Lutetia. But persecution put a stop to their pious undertakings. Dionysius was beheaded.

The disciples whom they left behind them had the same zeal, and endured the same sufferings; but dangers doubled their fervor and devotion; noble men were seen to seek the humblest occupations in order to gain free access to all classes of the people, and be able to aid vigorously the spread of the Gospel. A century later St. Martin took up and completed, in the regions of the north and west, the work of St. Denis.

But Christianity was already seated, with Constantine, on the imperial throne. In this great revolution, Gaul could claim a glorious part, and it was through the support of the churches of Gaul and Africa that Christianity maintained its unity against the Oriental heresies. The temporal power of the clergy had followed the progress of its moral power; and in the decline of the Empire the cities bestowed upon their bishops, with the title of *defensor civitatis*, the principal authority in the city.

Political Events; Civilis. — In the reign of Tiberius two revolts were easily suppressed. Claudius, so severe toward the Druids, offered to the Gauls the entrance to the senate. The movement which overthrew Nero came from the borders of the Saône; the Aquitanian Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, gave the signal for it. The Empire was violently shaken; in two years (68–70) four emperors wore the purple. Civilis, a Batavian, conceived that the time had come to break the bonds which Cæsar had forced upon the land. The Druids announced the fall of the Latin race and the advent of the Transalpine nations. Sabinus, a Gaul, assumed the title of emperor. But Vespasian was already

in Rome; everything was reorganized under his powerful hand; the legions returned to their duty, and Civilis fled to the marshes of Batavia, whence he asked for peace. Sabinus hid his ephemeral royalty in a subterranean dwelling, where he lived nine years with his wife Eponina. Being at last discovered and conducted to Rome, he was put to death, and Eponina with him.

The Third and Fourth Centuries.—In the third century the continual revolutions to which the Roman world was a prey emboldened the barbarians. Powerful confederations were formed in Germany, which incessantly assailed the left bank of the Rhine. In the universal disorder a succession of Gallic Cæsars arose. As soon as the barbarians learned of the death of Aurelian, they dashed into Gaul and sacked seventy cities. Probus came up and drove the Germans back into their forests. The prosperity which the provinces had enjoyed for two centuries disappeared beneath the sufferings arising from these frequent incursions and the fiscal oppression of the Roman administration. Poverty increased throughout the country; in the time of Diocletian, the peasants arose under the name of Bagaudæ. Maximian found it necessary to make regular war upon them, and destroyed their entrenched camp near Paris.

Ravages of the Barbarians; Julian in Gaul.—Constantius Chlorus ruled Gaul mildly and sought to heal her wounds. His son, Constantine (306), taught the barbarians some severe lessons, the remembrance of which kept them quiet during his entire reign. Under Constantius they reappeared, and in order to save Gallia Belgica from the Franks and Alemanni, this prince was obliged to send Julian thither (355). The young Cæsar delivered Gaul from them by a battle near Strassburg in 357. Yet Julian allowed the Salian Franks to establish themselves on the lower Meuse. He took great pleasure in dwelling at Lutetia, and there he was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers (360). Soon after his reign the Empire was divided into the Eastern and Western Empires.

Gaul falls to the Share of Honorius (395).—Valentinian, who reigned over the West (364), and his son Gratian (375), held the barbarians in subjection. But they entered the legions first as paid auxiliaries, then obtained offices and honors; for in the midst of these degenerate Romans they alone retained courage, boldness, and energy. The Frank

Arbogast killed Valentinian II. and made Eugenius, the rhetorician, emperor (392). Theodosius overthrew them, and for some time reigned over all the provinces; but at his death the Empire was again divided, and Gaul fell to the lot of Honorius (395).

CHAPTER V.

INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS.—THE FRANKS BEFORE CLOVIS.

(241-481 A.D.)

Decline of the Empire. — The Roman Empire had existed four centuries, — two with honor and prosperity, two in misery and shame. At the end of the fourth century there was no longer courage among the soldiers nor patriotism among the citizens, who were ruined by the increasing exactions of a government each day becoming more incapable of protecting its subjects. And finally, Christianity itself was one cause of the dissolution of the Empire. The Gauls did not know how to defend themselves; they did not even know how to act in concert. As soon as the considerable line of soldiers on the borders of the Rhine was broken through, the barbarians overran the country with impunity. When Italy recalled to her aid the remnant of the legions, and the borders of the Rhine were no longer guarded, the barbarians crossed the river triumphantly.

Origin of the Franks. — The Germans who inhabited the country on the right side of the Rhine were still in that primitive state of civilization in which the nations are divided into tribes almost independent of each other; in which the family forms a society by itself; in which the individual, bound by no special law, can give vent freely to all his passions. At this stage of civilization the nations, unskilled in agricultural or industrial pursuits, do not accumulate, and war is their principal occupation; poverty protects them from certain vices, war cultivates in them some virtues. The Germans of Tacitus had the good qualities and the defects of all barbarians.

From about the middle of the third century of our era the Germans on the right bank of the Rhine had formed two confederations: to the south, that of the Suevic tribes, who were called the Alemanni (all men); in the north, that of the Salians, the Sicambri, the Bructeri, the Cherusci, the Chatti,

etc., who took the name of Franks (the brave). The first mention made of the latter, in the Roman writings, is in the year 241, when Aurelian defeated a body of Franks.

In the year 286 a body of Franks traversed the whole of Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees, ravaged Spain, and perished in Africa. Probus transported a colony of Franks to the Black Sea (277). But soon wearying of this exile, they seized upon some vessels, passed through the straits, crossed the Mediterranean, and, pillaging by turns the coasts of Asia, Greece, and Africa as far as the Pillars of Hercules, circumnavigating Spain and Gaul, returned and informed their fellow-countrymen on the banks of the Rhine of the weakness of the great Empire.

The Franks within the Empire.—As soon as Rome relaxed her vigilance, they crossed the Rhine (368) and devastated Gallia Belgica. Julian found they had so completely ruined the valley of the Meuse that it was best to leave it to them to repopulate. Consequently the Franks were the first to cross the Rhine, the first to establish themselves in Gaul as auxiliaries and allies of the Empire; they were the last to found a state there. Not only did the Franks establish themselves peaceably in the Empire; but a few of them rose to the highest offices. The career of the Frank Arbogast and of his emperor, Eugenius, has already been described.

The Great Invasion of 406; Kingdoms of the Burgundians (413) and the Visigoths (419).—Towards the end of the year 406, while the legions were occupied in Italy, the Suevi, the Alans, and the Vandals advanced towards the Rhine. The Franks established on the left bank endeavored to stop their progress, but were defeated, and the horde crossed the river. After immense ravages, the tide of destruction passed beyond the Pyrenees and inundated Spain. The Burgundians remained in Eastern Gaul, and Honorius granted them all the land extending from Lake Geneva to the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle (413).

About the same time the Visigoths, whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube into Italy, were conducted by his brother-in-law Ataulf into Southern Gaul. This barbarian became a Roman with all his heart, endeavored to repair the ruin wrought by his people, and began, in the name of the Empire, the conquest of Spain from the Suevi and the Alans. His successor, Wallia, continued the war

on his own account. The Visigoths, masters of Aquitania as far as the Loire, and of the greater part of Spain, had thus acquired a powerful empire of which Toulouse was the capital (419).

The Salian Franks under Clodion and Meroveus; Battle of the Catalaunian Plains (451).—A few years later the Franks advanced into the interior of the country. About 428 the Salian Franks were commanded by King Clodion, who resided in what is now Limburg. Clodion took Tournai and Cambrai, put to death all the Romans whom he found in them, and advancing upon the Somme arrived near Hesdin (431), but was there surprised and defeated by the Roman general Aëtius, then the most formidable defender of the Empire. Meroveus, a relative of Clodion, succeeded him as chief of the Salians; three years after (461) the Franks united with all the barbarians colonized in Gaul and with the remnant of the Romans to arrest the formidable invasion of the Huns.

These Huns, who had come three-quarters of a century before from the depths of Asia, were a source of terror to all. They had nothing in common with the tribes of the West, either in personal characteristics or in habits of life. They wandered through the immense steppes in enormous chariots or on small, untiring horses. Their food was the milk of their mares or a little meat. Casting themselves upon Europe in the second half of the fourth century, they unsettled the whole barbarian world and precipitated it upon the Roman Empire. The Goths were fleeing before them, when they crossed the Danube; the Vandals and the Burgundians, when they crossed the Rhine. After a halt of half a century in the centre of Europe, the Huns were now again in motion.

Attila, their king, constrained all the wandering tribes from the Rhine to the Ural to join him, crossed the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Seine, and marched upon Orleans. The populace fled in unutterable fright before the *Scourge of God*. Metz and twenty other cities had been destroyed. The immense army surrounded Orleans, the key of the southern provinces, but Aëtius arrived with all the barbarian nations settled in Gaul. Attila retreated in order to choose a field of battle suitable for his cavalry; he halted in the Catalaunian plains, near Méry-sur-Seine. There a fearful encounter took place. On the day of the chief fight,

165,000 combatants strewed the bloody field. Attila was defeated, but the allies allowed him to re-enter Germany (451). After an invasion of upper Italy in the next year, he died, and his kingdom perished with him. The Visigoths, whose king had fallen, and the Franks of Meroveus, had shared with Aëtius the chief honor of that memorable day on the Catalaunian plains.

The Salian Franks under Childeric (456–481).—Meroveus was succeeded, in 456, by his son Childeric. The Franks, whom he irritated by his luxurious habits, drove him away, and put in his place the Roman general, Ægidius. Childeric took refuge in Thuringia, but at the end of eight years returned and was re-established in his power. Basina, queen of Thuringia, followed him. Childeric married her, and had by her one son who was called Clovis. Childeric died in 481, and was buried at Tournai.

Chaos in Gaul.—After the battle of Méry and the great league formed for the moment against Attila, all was again confusion for thirty years. The Western Empire had come to an end in 476, when Odoacer, a Herulian chief, deposed the last emperor, Romulus Augustulus, and established the first barbarian kingdom in Italy. In Gaul this was not perceived; for Ægidius, a Roman general, retained control of the countries between the Loire and the Somme, which had not as yet been occupied by any barbarous tribe, and bequeathed them to his son Syagrius. The cities of Armorica had long had an independent government. The Franks entered Gallia Belgica in still greater numbers. The Britons, attacked in their island by Saxon pirates, came, in their turn, to pillage Angers, near the Loire (470). One of the last emperors had ceded to the Visigoths all the southern part of Gaul west of the Rhone; they also seized upon Arles, Marseilles, and Aix on the east side of the river (480). Some Britons penetrated into Berry, some Franks as far as Narbonne, which they sacked. There was a perpetual coming and going. The tribes came into collision, and mingled together from north to south, from east to west; all were seeking their fortunes, sword in hand. The peaceful Gallo-Roman cities reorganized their militia, and profited by the universal confusion to decide long-standing quarrels. In the midst of this chaos, the deep voice of the Church alone spoke of peace and order to those furious creatures, and she alone stretched out her hand to protect the weak.

THIRD PERIOD.

MEROVINGIAN FRANCE (481-687).

CHAPTER VI.

CLOVIS.

(481-511 A.D.)

Gaul in 481.—At the accession of Clovis there were many states in Gaul: 1. Between the Loire and the Pyrenees, the Visigoths, masters of more than three-quarters of Spain, and, beyond the Rhone, of all the countries between the Durance and the sea; 2. in the valley of the Saône and of the Rhone down to the Durance, the Burgundians; 3. between the mouth of the Loire and that of the Seine, the Armorican free cities; 4. between the Mayenne, the middle Loire, and the Somme, Syagrius ruled over the remnant of the Empire; 5. between the Vosges and the Rhine, a body of Alemanni had settled; 6. a colony which had come over from Britain during the previous century had settled in Armorica; 7. all Gallia Belgica was in the power of the Franks. Their principal chiefs resided at Cologne, Tournai, Cambrai, and Thérouanne. The state of Syagrius was only a mass of ruins, neither sufficiently Roman nor sufficiently barbarian to have any chance of permanency. The Armoricans aspired only to maintain their existence apart from the rest.

The Burgundians and the Visigoths.—The Burgundians were still barbarians, but they had for a long time enjoyed a near view of Roman society. When the invasion cast them into Gaul, they took, without violence, two-thirds of the land and one-third of the slaves, but manifested towards the Gallo-Romans, who remained in their midst, neither

scornful indifference nor outspoken insolence. Their national law was borrowed in great part from the laws of the Romans, and possessed characteristics of refinement unusual among these adventurers of the fifth century. Unfortunately for their power, it was by Arian missionaries that they had been converted.

The Visigoths were no longer terrible. They had been cantoned in the Empire for a century and in the heart of the richest provinces. Consequently the court of the Visigothic kings at Toulouse was already full of elegance and refinement, in spite of the presence of numerous barbarians who came to solicit the protection of the powerful king who ruled over three-quarters of Spain and a third of Gaul.

If at that time the question had arisen, which tribe would eventually possess Gaul, the unhesitating answer would have been, the Visigoths. But that tribe had lost its savage energy. Moreover, like the Burgundians, it was Arian; that is, it possessed a religious faith opposed to that of the Gallo-Romans. Already the antipathy between the orthodox subjects and the heretic masters was causing some friction.

The Franks; Manners and Religion. — “The Franks,” says Augustin Thierry, “wore their red blond hair rolled up in a sort of tufted knot on the top of the head, allowing the ends to hang down behind like a horse’s tail. Their faces were smoothly shaven, with the exception of two long moustaches. They wore linen coats girded round the waist by a broad belt from which hung a sword. Their favorite weapon was an axe having one or two edges. They began a fight by throwing it from a distance. They also carried pikes of medium length having long and strong points armed with several barbs or hooks, sharp and bent like fish-hooks. When this pike had transfixed a shield, the hooks with which it was furnished rendering its extraction impossible, it remained suspended and dragged its other end upon the ground. Then the Frank who had thrown it leaped forward, and placing his foot upon the javelin, leaned upon it with all his weight, so that the adversary, being obliged to lower his arm, exposed his head and breast. Sometimes the pike, with a cord attached to the end, served as a sort of harpoon to drag in whatever it reached.”

The religion of the Franks was the coarse and warlike worship of Odin, the god of the Scandinavians. They believed that after death the brave ascended to Walhalla,

a palace reared in the clouds, where pleasure consisted of perpetual combats interrupted by long feastings, when beer and mead were circulated without intermission in the skulls of the enemies whom the heroes had killed. "Thus the Franks loved war passionately, as a means of becoming rich in this world, and in another the guests of the gods. The youngest and most violent of them sometimes experienced in battle those paroxysms of frantic ecstasy which were afterward exhibited by the Northmen."

Political Institutions of the Franks. — The institutions of the Franks were the same as those of all the Germanic tribes. Each tribe had a chief, whom the Romans called king. These kings, among the greater part of the Germanic nations, were chosen exclusively from a family invested with a sort of religious consecration. Among the Franks, the family was that of Meroveus. But allegiance to these kings was lightly held.

Public Assemblies. — "Among the Germans," says Tacitus, "small affairs are submitted to the deliberation of the chiefs; large ones, to that of the whole tribe. Those very affairs, however, which are reserved for the decision of the tribe are first discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, except in case of some sudden and unforeseen event, upon appointed days, at the time of the new or full moon. An abuse grows out of their independence; namely, that, instead of assembling all at once, as if they were obeying an order, they lose two or three days in gathering together. When the assembly appears to be sufficiently numerous, they hold a meeting, all armed. The priests, to whom is entrusted the power of preventing disorder, command silence. Then the king, or the chief most distinguished on account of his age, his noble rank, his exploits, or his eloquence, speaks, and gains a hearing by the power of persuasion rather than by the authority of command. If the advice is displeasing, they reject it by murmurs; if it is approved, they shake their spears: this suffrage of arms is the most honorable sign of their assent."

The Salians; Victory of Soissons (486). — In 481, Clovis possessed only a few districts of Gallia-Belgica, with the title of king of the Salian Franks of Tournai. His army did not exceed four or five thousand warriors. In 486, at twenty years of age, he proposed to his Franks to make a warlike expedition, induced Ragnachar, king of Cambrai, to join

him; and the two, at the head of five thousand warriors, defeated, near Soissons, Syagrius, who fled to the Visigoths: he was afterwards given up to Clovis and put to death. Here occurred the famous incident of the vase of Soissons. Clovis desired to reserve from the booty a vase belonging to the Church. All consented to it except one soldier, who, striking the vase with his battle-axe, cried out, "Thou shalt only have what the lot accords thee!" The following year Clovis was reviewing the army; when he came to him who had struck the vase, reproving him for the condition of his arms, he took them from him, and threw them upon the ground. As the soldier stooped to pick them up, the king cleft his skull with a blow of his own axe, saying, "It shall be done to thee as thou didst to the vase last year at Soissons." Attention should here be drawn to the unlimited and at the same time restricted rights of this barbaric royalty; Clovis has only his allotted portion of the booty, as one of the soldiers; at the same time, he strikes a man dead, without judgment, and no one murmurs.

Marriage of Clovis and Clotilda (493).—Clovis next desired to lay his hand on Paris. He harassed it a long time. But a saintly girl, Sainte Geneviève, sustained the steadfastness of the inhabitants. A war between Clovis and the Thuringians, who had crossed the Rhine, then his marriage with Clotilda, niece of Gundebald, king of the Burgundians, gave another course to events. Clotilda was a Catholic, and she had obtained a promise that her first-born "should be consecrated to Christ by baptism." This was an event of the greatest importance.

War against the Alemanni; Conversion of Clovis (496).—The Alemanni, seeing the Franks gain possession of so many rich Roman cities, resolved to force them to divide with them, and crossed the Rhine in great numbers. The Franks hastened to meet them, with Clovis at their head. The encounter took place probably in Alsace. The fight was terrible; Clovis for a moment believed himself defeated, and, in his distress, invoked the God of Clotilda. Another violent effort turned the tide of battle. The Alemanni, driven back across the Rhine, were pursued as far as Suabia, and they and the neighboring Bavarians recognized the supremacy of the Franks.

The greater the victory, the more Clovis felt obliged to keep his word. Saint Remi baptized him and three thou-

sand of his soldiers with him. This baptism did not, as will be seen, change the habits of Clovis; but by a curious accident, he thus became the only orthodox prince in Gaul, or in the whole Christian world. The Gallo-Roman population, oppressed by the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths, henceforth turned hopefully towards the converted chief of the Franks.

The Burgundians rendered Tributary (500) and the Visigoths conquered (507). — After having acquired the country between the Loire and the Somme, and gained the alliance of Armorica, Clovis attacked the Burgundians. Clotilda induced her husband to undertake this war in order to avenge the death of her father, who had been assassinated by Gundebald. The late king had left four sons, among whom his kingdom had been divided. The elder, Gundebald, in order to gain the whole inheritance, had killed, with his own hands, one of his brothers, the father of Clotilda, and caused another to be burned; the youngest, Godegisel, still kept his portion, but feared a similar fate, and secretly called upon Clovis. Gundebald, defeated near Dijon (500), fled to Avignon. Clovis followed him thither, and forced him to acknowledge himself a tributary. The king of the Franks had scarcely withdrawn when Gundebald surprised Godegisel and put him to death.

Syagrius, after his defeat, had taken refuge among the Visigoths. These latter, already fearing a war with the Franks, delivered up the fugitive. Gregory of Tours tells us that a great many people in all the Gallic states at that time desired extremely to be subject to the domination of the Franks. Finally Clovis one day said to his soldiers: "It is a great mortification to me that these Arians possess a part of Gaul. Let us march against them, and by the help of God, we will first defeat them, and then subjugate their country." This speech pleased all his warriors, and the army immediately set out towards Poitiers. According to the legends their advance was marked by miracles. The two armies met in the plain of Vouillé, near Poitiers. The king of the Visigoths, with his best soldiers, was killed (507). Poitiers, Saintes, Bordeaux, opened their gates to the conqueror; the following year he entered Toulouse. The Visigoths would have lost all their possessions north of the Pyrenees, but for the assistance sent by Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths of Italy. The West Goths retained

Septimania, while the country south of the Durance fell to the East Goths.

Clovis Master of the Greater Part of Gaul. — With the exception of this narrow strip along the seacoast of the Mediterranean, Clovis controlled the whole country from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, either by his own authority or through his allies. A great barbarian kingdom was being formed. When Clovis entered Tours, he found there the envoys of the Eastern Emperor, Anastasius, who, delighted at seeing a rival to the great prince of the Ostrogoths of Italy arise on the other side of the Alps, sent to the king of the Franks the titles of Consul and Patrician, with the purple tunic and the chlamys. The remembrance of the Roman Empire was still alive. Its titles, conferred by the Emperor, seemed to bestow right upon him who had before possessed only force. Clovis, in the eyes of the Gallo-Romans, was no longer the barbarous and pagan conqueror, but the orthodox prince and the consul of Rome.

Other Frankish Kings slain. — Clovis fixed his residence at Paris. He instigated Chloderic, son of Sigebert, king of the Franks at Cologne, to murder his father, and then sent emissaries who assassinated Chloderic himself. When Clovis learned that Sigebert and his son were both dead, he came to Cologne, called the people together there, denied all complicity in either murder, and induced them to elect him as their king.

In the war against Syagrius, Clovis had called to his aid Chararic, king of Théroutanne; but the latter held aloof, awaiting the result of the battle, intending to make an alliance with him who should be the victor. Clovis remembered this, and as soon as he could, he took him prisoner, with his son, and forced them both to receive the tonsure, commanding that they should be ordained priests. Soon after, fearing conspiracy on their part, he ordered that both should be beheaded. After their death, he seized upon their kingdom, their treasures, and their people.

There was at Cambrai another king, named Ragnachar, so unbridled in his debaucheries that he scarcely spared his own relatives; Clovis gave presents to the *leudes* of Ragnachar to excite them against him. He afterwards marched, with his army, against that chief, and defeated him. The soldiers of Ragnachar themselves brought him and his brother to the conqueror, with their hands tied behind their

backs. Clovis slew them both with his own hand. These kings of whom mention has just been made were relatives of Clovis. Another Frankish king was killed by order of Clovis in the city of Le Mans. After their death, Clovis took possession of their kingdoms and all their treasures.

Clovis Sole Chief of All the Frankish Tribes; his Death (511).—“So,” says Gregory of Tours, “he extended his power throughout all Gaul. . . .

“After all these things had happened, Clovis died at Paris, where he was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles (Sainte-Geneviève), which had been built by the king and queen. He was forty-five years old, and had reigned thirty years.” Clovis was an intelligent and fortunate barbarian. The battle of Soissons, a successful *coup de main*, was the beginning of his fortune; the marriage with Clotilda, his conversion and baptism, the alliance with the bishops, completed it.

To the Gallo-Romans, abandoned by the Empire, the Catholic Church took the place of native country; the bishop was the real chief of the city. Among the barbarians, all of whom they equally scorned, the bishops and the faithful preferred the Catholic Salians to the Arian Goths or Burgundians. Clovis, moreover, conducted himself generously and deferentially towards the Church. The very year of his death he presided at a great council. He respected the customs and laws of the Gallo-Romans; he did not treat them as conquered subjects, and in reality he had not conquered them. He had simply substituted his rule for that of other barbarians, and founded the first permanent monarchy.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SONS OF CLOVIS.

(511-564 A.D.)

Division of the Frankish Monarchy among the Four Sons of Clovis. — At the death of Clovis, the state which he had founded comprised the whole of Gaul, with the exception of Gascony and Brittany. The Alemanni, also, were only nominally subject. The Burgundians, after having for a time paid tribute, refused to do so even during the life-time of Clovis; and the cities of Aquitaine remained almost independent. The victorious nation, united solely for the purpose of conquest and pillage, had contented itself with driving the Visigoths out of Aquitaine, without taking their place. The war ended, the Franks had returned, with their booty, to their ancient dwelling-places in the north.

The four sons of Clovis divided his heritage into four parts, and also his *leudes*, or followers, so that each one of them had almost an equal portion of the territory north of the Rhine, where the Frankish nation had established itself, and also some of the Roman cities of Aquitaine which paid rich tribute. Childebert was king of Paris, together with Poitiers, Périgueux, Saintes, and Bordeaux; Chlothar, of Soissons, with Limoges; Chlodomer, of Orleans, with Bourges; Theoderic, of Metz, with Cahors and Auvergne.

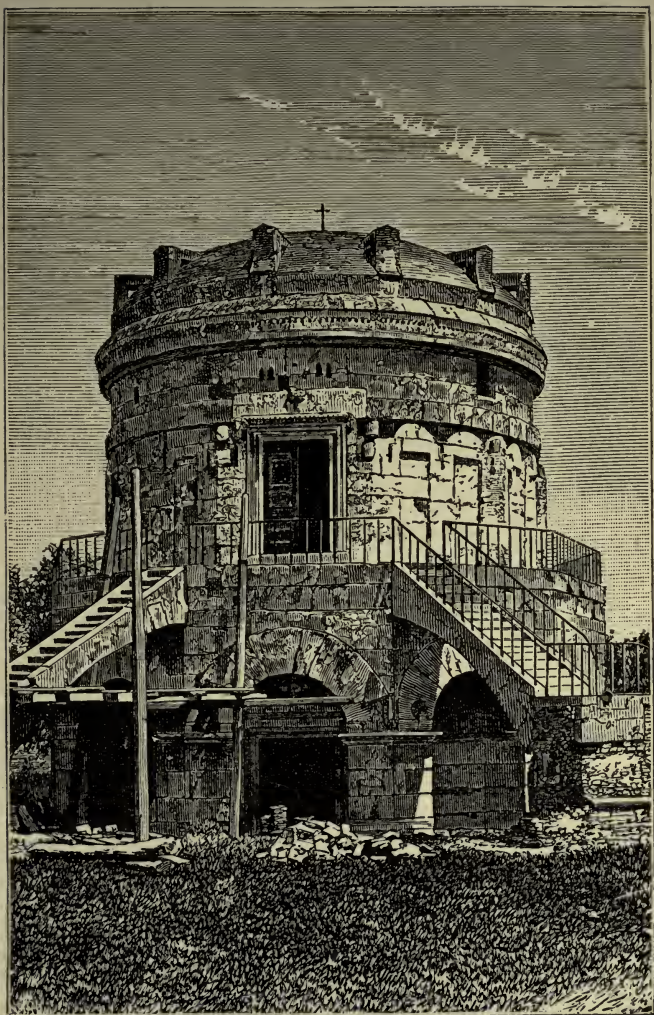
These strange divisions paved the way for quarrels which soon broke out. The old hatred between the Gallic cities was also aroused by this, and their militia engaged more than once in bloody fights on account of their masters' quarrels.

Conquest of Thuringia (530). — For several years the impulse given by Clovis continued. Theoderic victoriously repelled some Danes who had landed at the mouth of the Meuse, and, in 530, he made the conquest of Thuringia. This country had three kings, brothers, — Baderic, Hermanfried, and Berthar. Hermanfried killed Berthar; but, not daring to attack Baderic, he secretly instigated Theoderic

to do so. Baderic was slain; but Hermanfried did not keep faith with Theoderic, and there arose between them a bitter hatred. Having assembled the Franks, King Theoderic marched against the Thuringians, massacred a great number of them, gained entire possession of their country, and caused Hermanfried to be assassinated.

Conquest of the Country of the Burgundians (534). — Clovis had rendered the Burgundians tributary; but Clotilda was not satisfied. The death of Gundebald, in 516, was not sufficient to appease her hate. Instigated by her, her sons marched against the two kings of the Burgundians, Gunde-mar and Sigismund. The latter had recently smothered his son while asleep. The Burgundians were defeated, and Sigismund was captured; Chlodomir caused him to be thrown down a well, with his wife and another son. But one day, as he was pursuing the enemy with great haste, he was surrounded and killed (524). His death postponed the conquest of Burgundy; but, in 532, Chlothar and Childebert prepared a new expedition, and invited their brother Theoderic to join them. The king of Austrasia refused. His followers thereupon threatening to abandon him, he promised, instead, to lead them into the wealthy district of Auvergne. Chlothar and Childebert then marched alone into Burgundy, laid siege to Autun, and, having put Gundemar to flight, occupied the whole country (534). Meantime, Theoderic kept his word with his followers; he abandoned Auvergne to them, and it was completely devastated.

War against the Visigoths and Ostrogoths (539–542). — Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths, the powerful ruler of Italy, who had put a stop to the successes of Clovis, in 523 took the Valais from the Burgundians, and three small districts from the Franks. On his death, the Franks, taking the offensive, ravaged the whole of Septimania (531). This province remained, nevertheless, in the possession of the Visigoths for two centuries more. In 533, the Austrasians recaptured their lost districts; three years after, Vitiges, king of the Ostrogoths, ceded Provence to the Franks, in order to gain their alliance against the Greeks. Theodebert, who had succeeded his father, Theoderic, in the kingdom of Austrasia, led a numerous army into Italy, and defeated both the Goths and the Greeks (539). Childebert and Chlothar, in order to retain their followers, held out to them a promise of booty equally rich in Spain. They



TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA.

crossed the Pyrenees, and took Pampeluna, but were forced to retreat (542).

Violent Deaths of the Frankish Princes (524-555). — In those days princes never lived to be old; they died young from excessive dissipations, even when they escaped death at the hands of their kinsmen. Of the four sons of Clovis, Chlodomir, king of Orleans, was killed first, in 524, but killed by the hand of an enemy. He left three sons, who were brought up by Clotilda, their grandmother. One day Childebert sent secretly for his brother, bidding him come to Paris, that they might decide whether their nephews should be tonsured or killed. Chlothar came to Paris. Childebert had already spread a report among the people, that the two kings had determined to place these children on the throne of their father. They despatched messengers to the queen, telling her to "send the children, that we may place them upon the throne." She, filled with joy, sent them. Having got the children into their power, Childebert and Chlothar sent another messenger to the queen, bearing a pair of scissors and a naked sword, to bid her choose whether they should live with shaven heads or be killed. In her grief, scarcely knowing what she said, she imprudently answered: "If they are not to succeed to the throne, I would rather see them dead than tonsured." Chlothar forthwith slew them both with his own hand, mounted his horse, and went off unconcerned. The third child, Chlodwald, who was saved by the assistance of certain brave warriors, refusing an earthly kingdom, consecrated himself to God, cut off his hair with his own hand, and became a cleric. The village to which he retired is named Saint-Cloud in memory of him.

Upon the death of Theoderic, in 534, Chlothar and Childebert would gladly have treated his son Theodebert as they had treated the children of Chlodomir. But Theodebert, already arrived at the age of manhood, and beloved by his followers, was able to defend himself. He was the most active and brilliant of the Merovingian princes. After his remarkable expedition into Italy, he meditated another against Constantinople, but was killed, while hunting, in 547. Theodebald, his son, died in 553, at the age of fourteen. Chlothar seized upon his inheritance. The new king of Austrasia was almost immediately obliged to quell a revolt among the Saxons, who refused to pay their tribute

of five hundred cows. As he was advancing against them with an army, they sent to him pledges of submission, which he was inclined to accept; but the soldiers, enraged, fell upon him, tore up his tent, wounded him terribly, and dragged him off, wishing to kill him. He followed them then, but they were defeated. It is necessary to bear in mind the habits and uncontrolled wills of these Frankish warriors, in order to comprehend the profound abasement of royalty under the first two dynasties, after their glorious beginning.

Chlothar I. Sole King of the Franks (558-561). — In 558, Childebert, king of Paris, died. Chlothar seized upon his inheritance also, and thus became sole king of the Franks. He reigned only three years over the whole monarchy of Clovis. His son had entered into a conspiracy with Childebert against him. After the death of his uncle, this prince took refuge in Brittany; his father followed him thither, defeated the Bretons, who tried to defend him, and having taken him prisoner, shut him up, with his wife and his children, in a peasant's cabin, which he caused to be set on fire. Chlothar only survived his son one year, and died at his villa of Compiègne, where he often went to enjoy, in the immense forests which surround it, those great hunts in which all the Merovingian kings took such delight.

Saint Radegund. — Among the wives of Clothar, there was one whose history may serve as a relief after so many bloody scenes. Radegund was the daughter of Berthar, king of Thuringia, and formed a part of the booty of Chlothar. Struck by her precocious beauty, he had her reared carefully, and afterwards married her. Radegund viewed this marriage with horror. Her memory carried her unceasingly back to the midst of her murdered family, and she forgot them only when stealing away from the honors of her official position to live among the poor, to provide for their needs, and dress their most repulsive wounds, or to listen attentively to some learned cleric and converse at length upon the Holy Scriptures with some bishop. "She is a nun," said Chlothar brutally, "and not a queen." The cloister, indeed, was the asylum to which this delicate and loving soul desired to flee from the coarse passions which surrounded her. One day, when the king had caused her last-remaining brother to be killed, she hastened to Noyon, and finding the holy Bishop Medard at the altar, begged him to consecrate her to the Lord.

Chlothar was greatly incensed. Conquered at last, however, by the patient resistance of the bishops, he permitted the daughter of the Thuringian kings to found a monastery for women, of which she became the patroness. She shut herself up there in 550, never to go out until her death in 587. During this long seclusion she mingled the culture of letters with her good works and austere religious exercises. Fortunatus, the greatest poet of her time, became a priest so as not to be separated from her.

Thus human nature never loses its rights; in the midst of the exercise of the most unbridled passions there still exist some pure and delicate feelings. It was the Church which in the sixth century offered an asylum to those tender and elevated souls which increasing barbarism filled with dismay; the cloister for those who sought solitude and meditation; the regular clergy for the exercise of the more active virtues, for those who did not fear to speak words of peace, justice, and love to men of blood. This is the reason why the worst periods of the Middle Ages produced virtues which were unknown to the most brilliant periods of Paganism, and why, thanks to a few fine souls, animated by pure Christian spirit, humanity stopped on the edge of the abyss into which it was upon the point of being precipitated.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SONS AND GRANDSONS OF CHLOTHAR I.

(561-613 A.D.)

New Division (561).—After the death of Chlothar I. (561), the monarchy was again divided into four kingdoms: those of Paris, Soissons, Metz, and Burgundy. The premature death of Charibert, king of Paris, reduced them to three, in 567. This last partition was of longer duration than the preceding ones, because it corresponded to real divisions, distinct nationalities. Guntram ruled the Burgundians; Sigebert, the Austrasian, or eastern Franks; and Chilperic, that mixed population of Gallo-Romans, called Neustrians. Aquitania continued to be divided between the three kings. Paris was to belong to all three, and neither one of them was to enter the city without the consent of the other two. Under the sons of Clovis the spirit of conquest was still rife among the Franks; after that, there was for a century and a half only the spirit of rapine and murder.

Opposition of Neustria and Austrasia.—In Austrasia (Belgium and Lorraine), which was nearer the Rhine, and filled with a more numerous Frankish population, German customs prevailed; and a crowd of petty chiefs formed there a powerful and warlike aristocracy, jealous of the kings. Neustria (Île-de-France, Normandy, etc.), more Roman, because it contained fewer barbarians and more ancient cities, accorded more authority to her kings, and preserved some characteristics and customs of the imperial administration. This difference of customs and condition created a spirit of political opposition between Neustria and Austrasia, which showed itself first in the rivalry between Fredegunde and Brunehilde, one the wife of Chilperic, and the other the wife of Sigebert; and later, between Ebroin and the mayors of Austrasia.

Invasion of the Avars and the Lombards (562-576).—A new tribe came from Asia by the route the Huns had taken,

and dashed into the Frankish empire. Sigebert, king of Austrasia, defeated the Avars first, in 562. Six years later, they penetrated as far as Bavaria and Franconia, defeated Sigebert, and made him prisoner, but soon released him, and returned into Pannonia. At the same time, the Lombards, who had lately become masters of Italy, invaded the states of Guntram at three different points (571-576), but were driven back beyond the Alps.

Murder of Galeswintha (567).—While the king of Austrasia was fighting in the interest of the common cause, his brothers took advantage of his absence, to pillage his western provinces. To this injury Chilperic added another. Galeswintha, his wife, was the sister of Brunehilde, Sigebert's queen, both being daughters of Athanagild, king of the Visigoths, who had hoped to purchase, by this union, the friendship of the Franks. Brunehilde, a woman of masculine spirit, had accepted without repugnance this marriage with one of those chiefs, who, in the eyes of the Goths, softened by the warm climate of Spain, were still barbarians. But Galeswintha, less ambitious of power, had seen with terror the dawn of the day when she would be obliged to leave her mother, and go to find in the far-off north an unknown husband. Sorrowfully leaving her mother, she journeyed, under escort of Frankish warriors, from Toledo to Rouen, where the marriage was to be celebrated.

Even before her arrival, Galeswintha had a rival, Fredegunde, whose name is infamous for bitterness and implacable cruelty. Set aside for the moment by the arrival of Galeswintha, she soon regained her former ascendancy over Chilperic. The queen ventured to complain, then demanded to return to her own country; but Chilperic feared to lose the treasure she had brought him. One night he sent into her chamber a trusty servant, who strangled her while she slept.

Murder of Sigebert (575).—Brunehilde endeavored to prevail upon her husband to make war and avenge her sister's death. But Guntram interposed. The affair was submitted to the decision of the assembled people, and by it Chilperic was compelled to deliver to Brunehilde five cities of Aquitania, which he had set apart as a dower for Galeswintha. In 575, he endeavored to revoke this cession and invaded the domains of Sigebert in Aquitania. The king of Austrasia hastened to meet him, followed by an immense army. Chilperic

again ceded the cities ; but soon fresh encroachments called Sigebert back to Neustria. No power could repel him ; he entered Paris, and the Neustrians promised to receive him as their king. Chilperic retained only Tournai ; Sigebert marched against him in order to take that town also from him. But Fredegunde was watching over her husband as well as herself ; two soldiers whom she had imbued with fanatical zeal repaired to Sigebert's camp, obtained audience of him, and slew him with long, poisoned knives.

Murder of Chilperic and Two of His Sons (584). — Brunehilde, then at Paris with her treasures and her young son Childeburt II., was at the mercy of Chilperic. The king of Neustria took the treasures. A faithful friend of Sigebert escaped to Metz with the child. Though he was only five years old, the *leudes* proclaimed him king, and gave him a mayor of the palace to govern in his stead. Such a minority was favorable to their desires for independence.

Meanwhile Fredegunde appalled Neustria by her assassinations. Her husband had, by a previous marriage, two sons, Meroveus and Clovis, whose rights were prior to those of her son Chlothar. Meroveus either had himself killed by one of his own followers because of the queen's persecutions, or fell by the hand of one of her confidants. His friends perished by the most atrocious means. The Bishop of Rouen, who had blessed this marriage, was himself murdered in his church, on the steps of the altar, while celebrating mass. Clovis was slain soon after, then one of his sisters, and Audowere, their mother. Chilperic himself was perhaps one of Fredegunde's victims. One evening, on his return from the chase to his royal villa of Chelles, he was stabbed, as he dismounted from his horse, by one of the queen's servants (584) : some, it is true, accuse Brunehilde of the deed.

This prince, whom Gregory of Tours calls a Nero, a Herod, possessed nevertheless, in the midst of all his vices and barbarity, some instincts of administration, and some literary tastes. He made verses, and admired the organization established by the emperors. Doubtless what he especially prized was their financial system. "King Chilperic," says Gregory of Tours, "caused to be drawn up, in all parts of his kingdom, tax-lists, after new and burdensome systems, which caused many persons to leave their cities and abandon their property." The tribes, by frequent

revolts, protested against the renewal of that exorbitant fiscal system, which had brought about the ruin of the old Empire.

Conspiracies ; Treaty of Andelot (587). — Fredegunde had bestowed upon Guntram the guardianship of her son, the young Chlothar II., but the king of Burgundy felt that he was surrounded on all sides by dangers. He feared the *leudes*, who, from day to day, grew less and less willing to be subject to royalty ; and a great conspiracy had just been organized in the south. Aquitania, which had continued to be entirely Roman, had endeavored to separate from the barbarous countries of the north, and maintain itself under a king of its own, and had nearly succeeded (585).

Another plot, even more formidable, was formed in 587, among the *leudes* of Austrasia and of Burgundy. The object was to assassinate the two kings and divide the country among the conspirators. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators perished. Childebert and Guntram, alarmed, had an interview at Andelot (Haute-Marne), at which they agreed that the inheritance of either one of them who should die without children, should pass to the survivor ; that the *leudes* should no longer be permitted to change their allegiance from one king to the other at will ; but, on the other hand, the *leudes* were guaranteed in the possession of the lands which they held by royal grant.

Power of Brunhilde in Austrasia, and in Burgundy. — Guntram died in 593 ; Childebert II. reunited the two kingdoms, and tried to take possession of that of his cousin, Chlothar II., the son of Fredegunde ; his troops were defeated, and he died soon after (596). The eldest of his sons, Theodebert II., obtained Austrasia ; the other, Theoderic II., Burgundy. Brunhilde hoped to reign in Austrasia under her grandson, as she had reigned under her son. But she irritated the Austrasians by endeavoring to restore the state to some degree of order, and subjecting the *leudes* to stricter obedience, and was driven out (599). An asylum being offered her in Burgundy, at the court of her other grandson, she carried thither the same thirst for power, combining, it must be acknowledged, with her imperious ambition, higher ideas than were usually entertained by the princes of that time. She had a taste for arts and letters ; she perceived that kings should not only enjoy the tribute paid them by the people, but that they should give, in

exchange, order and useful public works; she built churches, caused roads to be constructed, and called to mind the Roman administration which she would have wished to restore. Unhappily, in her opinion, all means were justifiable, especially assassination. She had Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, stoned to death, and expelled St. Columban, an Irish monk, who went through Gaul, seeking to discipline the monks and teaching the princes themselves humanity.

In the midst of these court intrigues there were wars among the nations. The Neustrians had twice defeated the Austrasians, in 593 and 596; but they were completely routed, in 600 and 604, by the Burgundians; Paris was taken. All would have been over with Chlothar II. if the king of Austrasia had not saved him by making a treaty with him. Brunehilde, furious at seeing him escape the vengeance with which she had pursued him for thirty years, laid the blame of it on Theodebert. In 610, defeated by his brother, Theoderic, he was put to death with his children. His brother survived him only three years (613).

Conspiracy against Brunehilde; her Death (613). — There were now no more men to reign in Austrasia and Burgundy, — only four children and their grandmother, Brunehilde. The nobles groaned at the thought of finding themselves at the mercy of that imperious woman, and a plot was secretly contrived. While marching against Chlothar II. she was surrendered to him by her own soldiers. He reproached her for the death of ten kings, abandoned her for three whole days to the insults of his army, and then bound her to the tail of a wild horse, to be torn in pieces. The four sons of Theoderic II. had been already murdered; Chlothar II. found himself, like his grandfather, Chlothar I., sole king of the Franks (613). The horrible Fredegunde, his mother, had died, “full of years,” in 597.

CHAPTER IX.

CONDITION OF GAUL IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Disorder and Gloom of the Period. — Humanity has passed through few periods so unhappy as the sixth and seventh centuries. The documents of that sad time show the want of discipline, the brutal violence of the barbarians, the absence of all order, the revival of the old animosities between city and city, between canton and canton, and everywhere a sort of return to a state of nature. Pillage, fire, or some sudden attack and murder were always to be feared. Each year these barbarous kings made war, and each year they made peace. Then they mutually surrendered hostages; these were always the sons of rich Gallo-Romans, who in the earlier disturbances had been reduced to servitude by both parties. To complete the description of this deplorable period, let us add that all mental culture had ceased; that the Latin language became distorted in those uncivilized mouths; that neither king nor chiefs, no one, in fact, outside of the Church and the municipal administrations, cared to learn either to read or write. Civilization retreated and seemed ready to disappear under the ruins piled up by the barbarians.

Three Societies in Gaul. — When the invasion passed over Gaul, breaking up old ties and bringing in new political and social ideas, and new nations, three societies confronted each other, one of which served as a bond between the other two; the Gallo-Romans, the barbarians, and between them, recruited from both sides, the Church.

The Clergy; Important Part played by the Bishops. — The Church vanquished its conquerors, led them to the foot of her altars, made them bow their heads to her command, and continued to play in the state the political part which the Emperor had allowed her to take; but by contact with barbarism she herself took on some degree of rudeness. Germans and Franks aspired to the honors of the episcopate, and brought into the churches customs unknown

before. The grand intellectual movement which formerly animated the religious society was retarded and finally stopped. The clergy, however, preserved the tradition of ancient culture, and if their knowledge diminished, their influence increased, in the cities, where the bishop was the real chief; with the kings, who found wise counsellors among them; and among the nobles, who repaid their prayers by rich gifts of alms, preferring to do penance by giving lands to the Church rather than by giving good examples to their followers. Armed with excommunication, the bishops inspired in the most violent men, even in the kings, a salutary fear; and they added to their moral authority a real power, by obtaining from Chlothar I. or Chlothar II. the right to receive, concurrently with the count or governor of the city, the right to prosecute the crimes of theft, sedition, and arson. This participation of the clergy in the affairs of the world was fortunate, because there was more intelligence, impartiality, and gentleness in their courts than in those of the barbarians. They thus formed a vanguard for society, and the eighty-three councils held in Gaul from the sixth to the eighth century attest not only the political activity of the church, and the fervor of its zeal, but also its constant efforts to improve the national customs and to introduce into the social organization more justice and less inequality. The Church courageously took the afflicted under her protection. She gathered to her bosom the widow, the orphan, the poor, the proscribed, and it was because she had all the weak ones on her side that she was so strong; for the weak and the oppressed then constituted the greater portion of the world.

The Monasteries. — Beside the churches rose the monasteries. St. Martin had introduced the cenobitical life into the West. He had founded, in 390, the monastery of Ligugé, near Poitiers, and later, that of Marmoutiers, near Tours. Thereafter, convents multiplied rapidly; in the sixth century there were already 238. The cenobites lived without a general rule. But about 530, St. Benedict drew up, for the monks of Monte Cassino, statutes which were promptly adopted throughout Gaul. These wise regulations threw aside useless maceration, and divided the time of the monks into periods of prayer, mental and manual labor; they were obliged to cultivate the land, but also to read and copy manuscripts. Some little literary life was thus preserved

in the retirement of the monasteries, and its dependencies formed what are now called model farms; they presented examples of activity and industry for the laborer, the mechanic, and the landowner.

The Gallo-Romans. — The barbarians had overthrown the imperial administration, but not the internal organization of the cities. A Frankish court was established in each one to represent the king, to collect the taxes which the Gallo-Romans continued to pay, and to administer justice. The conquered people retained their curia, their magistracies, the practice of the Roman law; and these institutions have, in a great number of the cities, survived the Middle Ages. The Gallo-Roman society presents three principal classes: the land-owning freemen, the *coloni* attached to the soil which they cultivated, and the domestic or agricultural slaves. The free Gallo-Romans lived mostly in the cities, according to the customs of Greek and Roman society, — the rich on their incomes, the poor on the remnant of industry and commerce that still remained. The barbarians, on the contrary, scorned to dwell in towns, and preferred to remain like those on the other side of the Rhine, in the open air, under the great trees, and within reach of the hunting-grounds. The more wealthy of the Gallo-Roman landowners followed the example of the masters of the country. Thus an important revolution was accomplished. The preponderance of power possessed by the cities among the ancients passed into the country, and so remained throughout the Middle Ages.

The Barbarians; Status of Lands and Individuals. — After the conquest, the Franks had not dispossessed the proprietors of the soil, as a general rule; but their kings had reserved for themselves the lands of the imperial treasury and many others, which had become vacant during the widespread confusion of the invasion. It was from these estates that they took the domains with which they rewarded their confidential followers, — domains called allodial (*all od*, land held in full possession). After their conversion, princes and warriors made numerous donations to the clergy, who became very great landed proprietors. The rest of the Gallic territory remained subject to tribute.

Individuals were thus divided: 1. Free men, Gallic or Frankish, who were obliged to bring gifts to the king, and owed military service to the nation in time of war; and the

leudes, who were bound to fulfil certain duties towards those from whom they held their land. The royal *leudes*, from among whom the king usually chose the dukes and counts whom he sent to command armies, to rule over provinces or cities, were those who had received domains directly from the king, and, with the less dependent chieftains, formed an aristocracy, whose power and pretensions were daily increased. 2. The *litus*, who, like the Roman *colonus*, could not be removed at will from the land which he cultivated as a farmer, and for which he paid the proprietor a fixed rent. 3. The slave.

In the penal system of the barbaric laws, everything—murders as well as thefts—could be compensated for by payment of money (*wergeld*). The following are a few examples of that curious social hierarchy, indicated by the price of each one's blood. For the murder of a free-born *leude* of the king among the Salians, 1500 solidi (the solidus = \$1.80 in weight, ten times as much in value). The freedman, *leude* of the king, among the Salians, 900 solidi. A count, a free-born priest, a free judge, 600. A deacon, among the Salians, 400. The free Salian, 200. The slave who was a good worker in gold, 150. The *litus*, 100. The freedman, 80. The barbarian slave, 55.

Barbarian Codes.—Each German tribe had its own code of law. That of the Visigoths and the Burgundians nearly resembled the Roman law, under which the clergy and Gallo-Romans lived. We also have the laws of the Alemanni, the Bavarians, the Ripuarians, and the Salians.

Three principal characteristics distinguished them from the Roman law. In the first place, they are especially penal codes, which indicates a society singularly rude and violent. In the second place, they allow all sorts of injuries to be redeemed by money, the prices varying according to the degree of the offence. Finally, they admit, as proof of the facts, the witness of a certain number of relatives and friends, whether of the accused or the accuser. The judge, however, could order combat, or judicial duel, and the ordeals of cold water, boiling water, and the red-hot iron. In the first case, the accused, being bound hand and foot, and thrown into a tub full of water, was regarded as criminal if he floated. In the second, he plunged his hand to the bottom of a vase filled with boiling water; if, on withdrawing it, there was no trace of scalding, he was

acquitted. It was considered a judgment of God. In the trial by red-hot iron, the accused had to carry a bar of red-hot iron some distance; if, three days after, his hand was without a wound, or if the wound appeared to be in a certain condition, the accused was innocent. Tortures and punishments were reserved for slaves and serfs convicted of crime. The freeman was usually subject only to wergeld. In the judicial combat, women and old men could be represented by a champion.

The Salic law allowed no woman to inherit land for which a Frank owed military service. This exclusion was natural; later, the kingdom was declared similar to Salic land, and women have always been excluded from the throne of France.

Disorganization of Slavery. — The increasing progress of moral doctrines had already robbed the ancient servitude of some of its rigor, when the Church, by preaching the doctrine of human fraternity and common redemption, dealt it the most deadly blow. Enfranchisements became more frequent, and the slave was less at the disposal of his master. Then came the invasion, which, disorganizing everything else, also disorganized slavery. In that time of general misfortune, the distance between master and slave diminished. Luxury disappeared, and, German manners being adopted, there were fewer domestic slaves. Relegated to the country, they became like the Roman *coloni*, serfs of the glebe; that is, attached to the soil, and obliged to do only certain work. This new class gained numbers from above and below. Slaves rose in it, and ruined freemen joined it. In the ninth and tenth centuries this transformation was still in operation; at that time there were scarcely any slaves remaining; there were only serfs: but eight centuries more were needed to destroy this second servitude.

Government of the Merovingians; the King. — The kings were elected, but always chosen from the family of the Merovingians. The badge of their kingship was their long hair. Cutting it off was equivalent to deposing them. Beyond the Rhine, the kings possessed only a very restricted authority. But it was inevitable that Germanic royalty, henceforth exercised upon tribes accustomed to the absolute power of the Roman emperors, should be greatly modified. The Gallo-Romans taught this royalty the traditions of the Empire; the bishops imbued it with a high idea of its

power, which they represented to it as delegated by God; and, during nearly a century and a half, these kings exercised great power. The Merovingian king dressed after the fashion of the Romans, wrote and spoke in Latin, and sat, as the Emperor had done, in the *prætorium*, to judge suitors; he was addressed by the titles of lord (*dominus*) and majesty; he made laws and constitutions by his own authority: he declared war and signed treaties of peace. His power was unlimited.

In Germany there had been an assembly of the people, in which was vested the real sovereignty; these assemblies were no longer possible in vast kingdoms over which the freemen were widely scattered. In the sixth century a sort of political assembly is sometimes found; but it is rather a gathering of the aristocracy than a national assembly.

Administration. — About the king were a great number of officers holding positions in the personal service of the king and in the public service. There were the *major domus*, or mayor of the palace, an officer whom we shall encounter later; the marshal, the treasurer, the cup-bearer, the chamberlains, and a crowd of inferior officers, porters, couriers, etc. Political functions belonged more particularly to the count of the palace, who sat in the king's court, and to the referendary, a sort of chancellor, and keeper of the royal seal, which he affixed to the royal acts. These officers were the *domestici*; that is, they formed the king's household. With them lived the *antrustions*, or *companions* of the king. But the court (*palatium*) was the resort for all important personages, — counts, dukes, and bishops, — who formed its floating population. All these people could be called into the king's council, and sit in the tribunal. The court had no fixed residence; the king went from villa to villa, according to necessity or pleasure.

The royal authority was represented in the counties, which corresponded to the *civitates* of the Romans, by the counts. The count was judge, general, and financial administrator. He was judge of the Gallo-Romans and of the Franks. He convoked the ban of the freemen and led them to the army. He collected the public taxes, which were only the old Roman taxes. Many of these officers abused their power; a few were faithful officers of justice. Superior to the count was the duke, whose administrative jurisdiction comprised

several counties. But this territorial division was neither regular nor permanent.

The Bishops. — Under the Christian emperors the authority of the bishops had been very great. They had received the right of arbitration, even of judgment, when the two parties consented; the right to hear complaints against unjust judges, to watch over the provisioning of the cities, to visit prisons, to protect widows, minors, orphans, and the poor. The barbarian invasion increased these rights. A bishop could be judged only by the bishops of his province, and each one claimed to be sole judge of the ecclesiastics and even the monks in his diocese. The Merovingian kings were compelled to respect these powerful personages; at the same time they knew how to make them the instruments of their own power. First of all, they laid their hands on the ecclesiastical elections, which, though made by the people and by the clergy of the city, had always required royal confirmation. But the Merovingian kings, not content with this right, nominated directly, and sometimes made singular choices. The frequent councils in which were assembled the bishops of a province or a kingdom, formed another element of power for the Church. The Merovingian kings watched over these assemblies, often took part in them, and in such cases presided over them. Their authority was necessary for the assembling of a council, and its canons required the royal approbation in order to be valid.

Decline of the Royal Power. — Why was it that this great power declined so rapidly? Why did the kings called *rois fainéants* so immediately succeed Dagobert, the most powerful of the Merovingian kings? Because the kings themselves weakened the royal authority by grants of land and privileges which ruined both their treasury and their power. At the expense of their domains, they made grants of lands which were, not benefices conceded temporarily in exchange for military service, but property alienated without other condition than a vague obligation of fidelity. Commendation also personally attached some of their subjects to the kings. He who was commended passed under the protection of the chieftain to whom he promised his services.

Public authority would have been in danger, if the king alone had thus formed about him a sort of clientage, by grants of land and commendation; but the clergy and the

leudes also gave lands in order to establish ties of fidelity between themselves and those whom they rewarded. The Church, especially, made grants of its lands, called benefices or *precaria*. These grants are the origin of the benefice or fief which afterwards played so prominent a part in the Middle Ages. Commendation was also made to the clergy and the *leudes*, for in those days the weak had great need of the protection of the strong. Many freemen who should have remained followers of the king, joined the clientage of powerful personages. Thus were formed in the state groups of individuals whose chieftains stood between them and the king.

The kings did still more to bring ruin upon public authority when they granted, together with a domain, what was called *immunity*; this is to say, exemption from taxation. Since the revenues of justice, penalties and confiscations, were included, this carried with it exemption from royal justice and royal authority. The Merovingians were not long masters of the counts. These offices, remaining in the same family, finally came to be considered hereditary property. As the kings had need of the *leudes* in the civil wars, then so frequent, they sought to attach them to themselves by grants. The latter became conscious of their power by finding that they were necessary; they therefore drew nearer to each other, and likewise to the bishops, and soon nothing remained to the Merovingians themselves. The last princes of that house would have been powerless, even if they had not merited their name of *rois fainéants* (do-nothing kings).

CHAPTER X.

CHLOTHAR II. AND DAGOBERT SOLE KINGS OF THE
FRANKS.—AFTER THEM, ANARCHY.

(613–687 A.D.)

Chlothar II. Sole King (613–628). — In 615, under Chlothar II., who by the death of Brunehilde and the children of Theoderic had become sole king, there was a considerable effort made to organize that society whose disorder has just been described. Seventy-nine bishops united, at Paris, with the *leudes* of the three kingdoms, and Chlothar sanctioned, by an edict or perpetual constitution, the decisions of that assembly. The election of bishops was especially reserved to the clergy and the people of the dioceses, the king only reserving the right to confirm the election, after which the metropolitan was to consecrate the person elected. A cleric could only be called to account by his bishop; the direct taxes recently established were abolished; but the tolls on the highways and the duties on entering the cities were continued; the judges of the counties were to be always chosen from among the landowners of the district, a measure extremely favorable to the aristocracy. Many of the articles of this constitution were directed against royalty, for the advantage of that aristocracy, both ecclesiastical and military, which was being established.

The chroniclers know nothing further concerning the reign of Chlothar II., whom they represent as kind and good to every one, learned in letters, fearing God, and a munificent patron of the churches, the priests, and the poor; whose only fault was too ardent love of pleasure and the chase. The mayors of the palace of Burgundy and Austrasia made him swear that he would not deprive them of their functions, and that he would not interfere in the elections to that office, a matter exclusively reserved to the *leudes*. In 622 Chlothar II. made his son Dagobert king of the Austrasians, under the direction of the mayor, Pippin of Landen, and of St. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz. These two persons were ancestors

of the Carolingian house; the son of Arnulf had married a daughter of Pippin of Landen, and Pippin of Heristal was born of that union.

Dagobert Sole King (628-638); Height of the Merovingian Power. — Dagobert, who succeeded his father in 628, was the most powerful of the Merovingian kings. Under him the Vascones or Basques, who inhabited the country south of the Garonne, were conquered, and promised obedience. The dukes of the Bretons made formal submission; the greater part of the Frisons and Saxons paid tribute, and the Thuringians, the Alemanni, and the Bavarians submissively received the commands of the king. The empire of the Franks extended from the Weser to the Pyrenees, and from the Western Ocean to the frontiers of Bohemia. Dagobert was the ally of the emperors of Constantinople, and intervened in the affairs of the other barbarian kingdoms.

At home, Dagobert applied himself to rendering just judgment. He visited his kingdoms in person, to repress disturbances. He had the laws of the barbarian tribes, his subjects, written down, and, though liberal to the clergy, he took back from the churches and convents a great number of domains diverted by usurpation from the royal possession. Dagobert founded the abbey of St. Denis, encouraged the remnant of art still lingering among the people, and manifested a taste for luxury unknown to his savage predecessors. The name of the goldsmith Eligius (St. Eloi) is remembered in connection with his.

Symptoms of Approaching Decline. — The reign of Dagobert was also the beginning of reverses. He was obliged to cede the greater part of Aquitania to his brother Charibert. He was unsuccessful in an expedition against the Wends of Bohemia and Moravia. During his life-time, but especially after his death, disturbances increased. The Saxons refused tribute; the Thuringians and the Alemanni paid only a nominal obedience. In Gaul itself the national heads of the Gascons, the Aquitanians and the Burgundians, resumed their independence, and in the provinces which remained loyal the kings were confronted by powerful officers who robbed them of their authority.

The Mayors of the Palace. — Under the sons of Dagobert, the monarchical authority declined rapidly; the power of the mayors of the palace increased, and the Carolingian family made its appearance in history. The mayor of the

palace, *major domus*, was an officer who had had charge of the management of the royal household. Under the Merovingians, each prince appears to have had several of them, perhaps one for each of his permanent residences. Later, there was only one for each kingdom. The office then, became important, because to the administration of the royal household was added that of the royal domain; then, as the private revenues of the king were confounded with the public revenues, the mayor of the palace had the administration of the treasury of the state. He had the care and education of the royal children, and during minorities, which were frequent, his position became preponderant. In 613, with the consent of the nobles who had surrendered Brunhilde to Chlothar II., three mayors of the palace were instituted, one in each of the three kingdoms. But though elected by the nobles, these mayors inspired them with fear, and the office would certainly have been suppressed if it had not become hereditary in the Austrasian family of the Carolingians.

The Sons of Dagobert (638–656). — When Dagobert died (638), his two sons were still children: one, Sigebert II., reigned in Austrasia under the tutelage of Pippin of Landen; the other, Clovis II., under that of Erkenwald, another mayor, in Neustria and Burgundy. Sigebert died in 656, and Grimwald, son and successor of Pippin in the mayoralty of Austrasia, believed himself sufficiently assured of the support of the nobles to make his own son king. Clovis overthrew the usurper and reunited the monarchy (656); but he died the same year.

Ebroin Mayor (659–681); **St. Leger**. — Mayor Erkenwald left the royalty undivided between the sons of Clovis II. Chlothar III., the elder, appears to have reigned under the guardianship of his mother, Queen Bathilda, an Anglo-Saxon slave whom pirates had brought and sold on the shores of the Frankish country. Bathilda did not forget her origin, and during her ten years of power she strove to ameliorate the condition of the slaves and the poor. But the nobles grew tired of the authority of a woman whom they found always surrounded by bishops. In 664 they murdered her principal counsellor, the Bishop of Paris, and Bathilda retired to a monastery.

Erkenwald died in 659, and was succeeded by Ebroin. Ebroin was an ambitious man, full of talent, who proposed to

raise the royal authority, now entirely under his control, since there were then only children on the throne, — Chlothar III., in Neustria and Burgundy; and, since 660, Childeric II., in Austrasia. The aristocracy, and therefore anarchy, was triumphant. Ebroïn undertook to put an end to this turbulence of the nobles; he exiled some, deprived others of their estates, caused others to be killed, and refused to give the offices of duke and count to those who possessed great estates in the provinces of which they asked the command. At the death of Chlothar III., in 670, he placed on the throne, by his own authority alone, the third son of Clovis II., Theoderic III. Consequently the office of mayor of the palace, which the nobles had rendered so powerful, in order to make it a weapon of defence against royalty, turned against them, and Ebroïn undertook the fulfilment of Brunehilde's designs against the Frankish aristocracy. The bishops and *leudes* of the three kingdoms took up arms against him, under the direction of Leger, Bishop of Autun. The mayor and his king were captured, tonsured, and shut up as monks in a monastery; Childeric II. of Austrasia was left sole king (670).

But the quarrel soon recommenced between the *leudes* and the new king. St. Leger was shut up in the same prison where Ebroïn was confined. The two enemies became, for the moment, reconciled. The death of Childeric II. opened for them the door of the cloister (673). There was then such terrible confusion "that it was believed that the advent of Antichrist was near at hand." Ebroïn, being the ablest man, was the first to recover his power from the chaos; he defeated the *leudes*, caused St. Leger's eyes to be put out, and afterwards had him beheaded (678), and restored Theoderic III.

It was not so easy to overcome the aristocracy of Austrasia. After the violent death of Dagobert II., who was assassinated in 678, the nobles of Austrasia, renouncing kingship, had bestowed the titles of dukes of the Franks upon their mayor, Martin, and his cousin Pippin. An Austrasian army set out, in 680, to attack Ebroïn; but it was defeated, and Martin, drawn into a conference, was killed by Ebroïn. The mayor of the palace of Neustria was himself assassinated the following year, and with him fell the last defender of the Merovingian royalty.

Battle of Testry (687). — The successor of Ebroïn pos-

sessed neither his energy nor his talents. He attacked Pippin; but Roman France, as Neustria began to be called, was conquered at Testry (near Péronne) by Teutonic France (687). This battle really ended the first dynasty of the Frankish kings. For though the degenerate Merovingians bore the title till 752, they no longer possessed even a shadow of power.

FOURTH PERIOD.



CAROLINGIAN FRANCE (687-887).



CHAPTER XI.

RECONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE AND OF AUTHORITY BY THE MAYORS OF AUSTRASIA.

(687-752 A.D.)

Origin of the Carolingians.—The empire of the Merovingians reached its height under Dagobert, and after him it slowly declined in the incapable hands of the *rois fainéants*. But in the midst of the Ripuarian Franks, who had retained the warlike energy of the first conquerors, there had arisen a family who united all the characteristics then requisite for exercising a powerful influence. It possessed very extensive estates, and therefore many warriors were attached to its fortunes. All of its members were distinguished for wealth and courage, and a few of them for piety. Three of them successively occupied the episcopal see of Metz. Pippin of Landen was mayor of Austrasia under Chlothar II. "In all his judgments," says his biographer, "Pippin studied to conform his decisions to the rules of divine justice, and took constant counsel of the blessed Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, who, he knew, lived in the love and fear of God." The wife and daughter of Pippin of Landen died in the odor of sanctity, and Pippin himself was at a later time regarded as a saint. Arnulf had been already canonized, and his grandson was a saint.

The heads of the family had held the mayoralty of the kingdom during the seventh century, in hereditary succession; first Pippin of Landen and Arnulf, afterwards Grimwald; then Pippin of Heristal, grandson of Arnulf and of

Pippin of Landen. Under the guidance of this family, which owes its name to Charlemagne, its most illustrious member, the nation, after a century and a half of civil wars, was to return to the path of foreign conquest. They were to re-establish the Frankish rule, to strengthen again the royal authority, and finally, to create a new Western Empire. The period of two centuries during which this house was so prominent presents three phases. First appear the efforts of the first Carolingians to replace under the yoke of the Franks the tribes who had freed themselves, and to bring again under the authority of the prince the nobles, who had no longer any thought of being in subjection (687-768). Then come Charlemagne's conquests and attempts at organization (768-814). Under his successors may be seen the dismemberment of the Empire by the revolts of the tribes, the fresh destruction of the royal authority by the usurpations of the *leudes*, and finally, the complete failure of the work attempted by the Carolingians (814-887).

Pippin of Heristal (687-714). — After the victory of Testry, royalty was not suppressed, but the duke of the Franks established a king only in order to show to the assembled people, at long intervals, a prince of the blood of Clovis. These "*rois fainéants*" are not of enough consequence to deserve individual mention.

Pippin had two things to do: to reconstruct the Empire of the Franks, which was falling to pieces; and to reconstruct the royal authority, which was already in ruins. The second task was more difficult than the first. But while flattering the nobles, Pippin re-established the old custom of popular assemblage in March (Campus Martius); he thus gained, in the mass of freemen, a support against the aristocracy, and it was this assembly which he consulted each year on subjects of war and peace. He engaged in many wars and was always conqueror. His efforts to bring the Frisons under his sway were aided by the missionaries, who sought to win them to the faith of the Gospel.

Death of Pippin of Heristal (714). — Pippin died in 714. His eldest son had died before him, and his second son had been assassinated. Pippin made an infant grandson mayor of Neustria and Austrasia, under the guardianship of the child's grandmother Plectrude. But those who had been restive under the strong hand of Pippin refused to obey a woman and a child. The Neustrians took a mayor of their own

choosing, Raginfred, and invaded Austrasia from the west, while the Frisons and Saxons attacked it on the east. The Austrasians, thus surrounded, took from the prison into which Plectrude had cast him a son of Pippin, Carl, called Charles Martel.

Carl, or Charles, called Charles Martel (715-741).—He was thirty years old; a true barbarian and rough soldier. At first he was unsuccessful. The Neustrians and Frisons entered Austrasia simultaneously and penetrated as far as Cologne. He withdrew into the impenetrable country of the Ardennes, then, emerging thence, surprised and routed the Neustrian army. The following year, near Cambrai, the Neustrians sustained a bloody defeat (717). The Aquitanians came to their assistance. Charles defeated their combined forces a second time near Soissons (719). He allowed the Neustrians to retain their phantom king, but governed under his name. By repeated expeditions against them, he compelled the Alemanni, the Bavarians, the Thuringians, and the Saxons to recognize the ancient supremacy of the Franks.

Victory of Tours (732).—But his greatest glory was having saved France from the Moslem invasion to which Spain and Africa had just been subjected. The Arabs, masters of the Peninsula (711), had penetrated into Gaul, through Septimania, taken Narbonne, Carcassonne, and Nîmes, besieged Toulouse, and almost destroyed Bordeaux. They went farther still in Burgundy; Autun was sacked, and in 731 they burned the church of St. Hilary of Poitiers. The defeated duke of Aquitania, Eudo, determined to seek the assistance of the duke of the Franks; and the representatives of the two great invasions, Germanic and Moslem, which had divided the Roman Empire, met between Tours and Poitiers. The encounter was terrific. The existence of Christianity was at stake. Three hundred thousand Saracens, the old chroniclers, with their usual exaggeration, declare, fell by the sword. The rest fled, and of all their conquests in the Frankish territory the Arabs retained only Septimania.

Conquest of Burgundy and Provence (733-739).—The Burgundians had refused to submit to the unworthy successors of Dagobert; Charles turned his arms against them, conquered the valley of the Rhone, and entered Septimania. In 739 he completed the subjection of Provence. In order to reward his soldiers, Charles distributed among them

estates which he took from the Church. Yet he was preparing to cross the Alps to defend the Pope, who had solicited his aid against the Lombards; but his death prevented.

Mayoralty of Pippin the Short (741-752).—Of the two elder sons of Charles Martel, one received Austrasia and the country beyond the Rhine; the other, Pippin, had Neustria and Burgundy. After the death of Theoderic IV., in 737, Charles Martel had left the throne vacant. Carloman did likewise. Pippin the Short proclaimed Childeric III.

The dukes of the Bavarians, Aquitanians, and Alemanni, refused obedience to the new chieftains of the Franks. But the two brothers, being united, triumphed. Carloman, in 747, shut himself up in the monastery of Monte Cassino. He had two sons. Pippin seized upon the inheritance of his brother, and, being master of the whole Empire, conceived the idea of putting an end to the strange condition of affairs which had existed since the battle of Testry. So much glory now attached to his house that he might without apprehension repeat the undertaking in which Grimwald had been so unsuccessful in the preceding century. The Merovingian king had but a shadow of royalty. With the exception of a pension for subsistence, his sole possession was one villa, whence he emerged once a year to attend the general assembly of the nation.

Relations of the Carolingians with Rome.—Very little effort was necessary to shut up this useless and neglected royalty in a monastery. Pippin had the assent of the nation, but he wished also to have the appearance of right on his side. The Pope, threatened by the Lombards, needed foreign aid to save his independence. The pontiff had long held friendly relations with the chief of the Franks; for, since the time of Gregory the Great, the Church of Rome had undertaken, with energy, the conversion of the heathen. England had been conquered by her missionaries, and then they undertook Germany. St. Columban and St. Gall brought Helvetia into subjection to the faith; others carried the Gospel into the valley of the Danube; Willibrod carried it into Frisia; Winifred, into Saxony. The land of the Franks was the starting-point for all these brave missionaries. The kings or dukes comprehended perfectly that the spiritual conquest of the Germanic countries paved the way for their temporal conquest. Consequently they sustained the missionaries. Winifred, or St. Boniface, Arch-

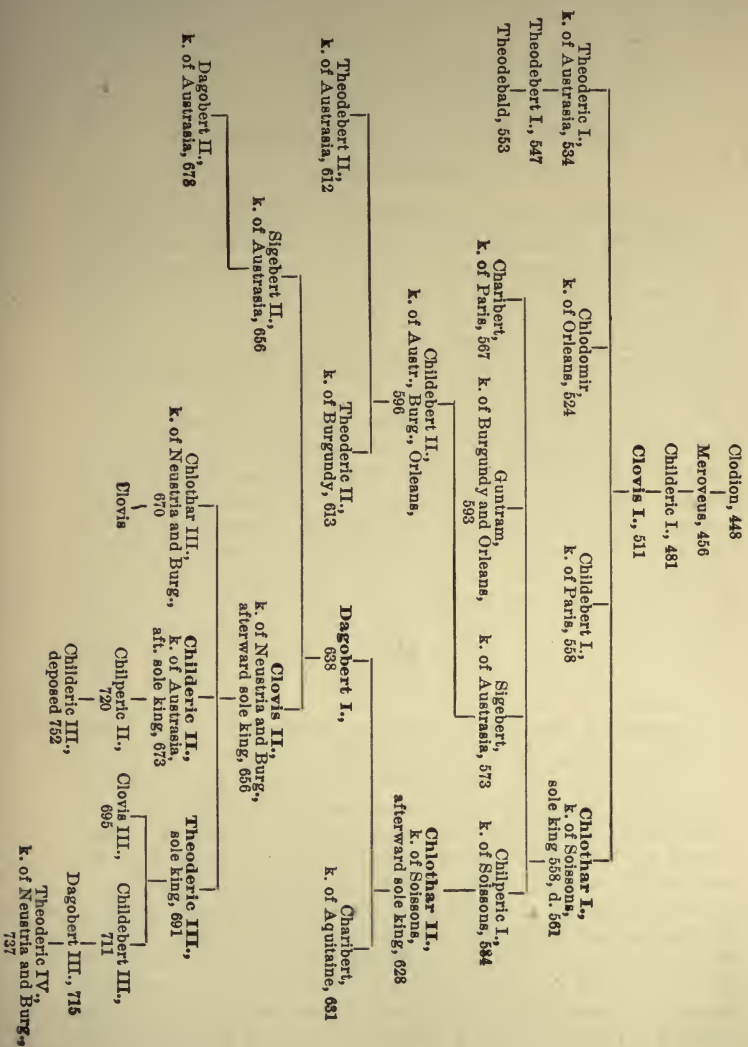
bishop of Mainz, was one of the councillors of Carloman, and the two princes showed a pious and intelligent zeal for the true interests of the Church. Pippin was thus naturally led to ask the Pope to bestow the title on him who possessed the power. His envoys consulting Pope Zacharias in 751, the Pope answered that he who held the authority should also have the title, and commanded that Pippin should be made king.

Pippin becomes King (752). — Pippin was accordingly anointed king of the Franks, by Boniface, and seated on the throne, according to the custom of the Franks, in the city of Soissons. Childeric III. was consigned to a monastery, where he died three years after. The termination of this first dynasty of the French kings excited no regret, and left behind it no memories. Contemporaries take notice of it only to see in this event a just chastisement for the scorn which the Merovingians had too often manifested for the Church.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MEROVINGIANS.

(The date following each name is that of death.)



CHAPTER XII.

WARS OF PIPPIN AND CHARLEMAGNE.

(752-814 A.D.)

Expeditions of Pippin in Germany and in Italy (754-757); his Donation. — Though Pippin had won ecclesiastical sanction for his assumption of royalty, he hastened to justify it by services. He occupied himself but little with the country which is now called Germany. He made only two expeditions against the Saxons. All his attention and all his strength were turned towards the southern countries, Italy, Aquitania, and Southern Gaul.

In 753 Pope Stephen II. came in person to France to implore his protection against the Lombards: he bestowed upon him the title of Patrician of the Romans. Pippin had himself consecrated a second time by the pontiff, forced the passage of the Alps, and besieged the Lombard king in Pavia. Astolf promised to restore the lands taken from the Church of Rome, but did not do so. Pippin reappeared in Italy the following year, caused Ravenna, with all the Exarchate, which belonged to the Greek Empire, to be surrendered to him, and bestowed them upon St. Peter. This donation was the origin of the temporal power of the popes (754-756).

Conquest of Septimania and Aquitania (752-768); Death of Pippin. — The Goths of Septimania had revolted against the Arabs, and called the Franks to assist them. Nîmes, Agde, Béziers, and Carcassonne opened their gates to them, but Narbonne resisted for seven years. When it surrendered, in 759, the empire of the Franks extended to the eastern Pyrenees. Then Pippin summoned Duke Waifer of Aquitania to surrender to him the fugitive *leudes* of Austrasia, and restore the property stolen from the churches. Waifer refused. Pippin immediately crossed the Loire, and from that moment Aquitania was subjected to a systematic devastation. Each year the devastation extended farther. Waifer, with a handful of brave men, fell back

continually, yet always fighting. He was finally overcome only by assassination (768). The independence of Aquitania perished with him; but its sense of liberty remained strong, its hatred of the Franks profound.

Pippin died in Paris in 768, "and," says Eginhard, "his sons Carl and Carloman were made kings by the consent of the Franks." Under him the general assemblies were transferred from the month of March to the month of May, and he held them very regularly each year, convoking the bishops as well as the nobles.

Carl and Carloman (768-771).—The Empire remained divided only three years; and those three years were employed in accomplishing the work begun by Pippin in Aquitania. At the news of the death of Waifer, Hunald, his father, had again taken up arms. Being defeated, he was surrendered by the Vascons, escaped, and took refuge with the Lombards. Carloman had ill sustained his brother during the war, and the misunderstanding between the two princes seemed likely to produce civil discord, when Carloman died. He left sons. The Austrasians, having it in their power to choose between these children and a valiant prince who had already shown himself a worthy successor of Pippin, did not hesitate to proclaim the latter, Carl or Charles (Charlemagne), their king.

Charlemagne Sole King (771).—Charlemagne (Carolus Magnus) reigned forty-four years. This long reign is naturally divided into two parts, conquests and administration. The result of the first was to extend the boundaries of the Empire eastward as far as the Elbe, the Theiss, and the Bosna, southward as far as the Garigliano in Italy, and the Ebro in Spain. The state of Pippin was doubled. For the incentives to these conquests we need not imagine any other than the ordinary motives, ambition and love of glory. There was no invasion to be feared. The Arabs were divided, the Avars weakened, and the Saxons powerless to make war beyond the borders of their forests and their marshes.

Conquests in Italy (773-774).—The sons of Carloman had taken refuge with Desiderius, king of the Lombards, who had already given an asylum to Hunald. Charlemagne had recently outraged Desiderius by sending back to him his daughter, to whom he had been married a year. Desiderius, instigated by resentment and by the advice of Hunald, desired the Pope to consecrate as kings the two sons of

Carloman. Adrian sent word of this to Charlemagne, who undertook an expedition beyond the Alps. The cities of Pavia and Verona alone resisted. Charles left an army in front of the two, went to Rome to receive the title of Patrician, with the oath of allegiance on the part of the Romans, and to confirm Pippin's donation to the Pope. Pavia surrendered. Desiderius and his children were shut up in a monastery, and Charles assumed the title of King of Italy (774). The Lombards retained all their possessions in the southern part of the Peninsula. The Frankish domination ended at the Garigliano; the dukes of Benevento were only nominally tributary.

Saxon War (772-803). — This was a difficult and perilous war; for the Saxons, a brave and energetic race, heroically defended their liberty. Religion was the pretext for the war. The Saxons burned a church and threatened to kill the missionaries. Charlemagne immediately entered their country, devastated it with fire and sword, took the castle of Eresburg, and cast down the idol Irminsul. In 774, while Charlemagne was in Italy, the Saxons tried to burn another church; he returned and began a war of extermination, the principal events of which were several bloody victories, the massacre of 4500 Saxons at Verden, the removal of a portion of the tribe into other provinces, and the forced conversion of the inhabitants. The hero of the resisting army, Witikind, continued to fight till 785; he then surrendered and was baptized at Attigny.

In 787 Charles promulgated, for the organization of Saxony, a capitulary of extreme severity, wherein the penalty of death was prescribed even for the smallest infractions of the ordinances of the Church. These means, although atrocious, succeeded. Saxony came from his hands subdued and Christianized, divided into eight bishoprics, and covered with new cities and abbeys, which were radiating centres of civilization.

War between the Elbe and the Oder (789). — Conquerors are obliged to extend their conquests incessantly. Charlemagne rendered the Wiltzi tributary (789), crossed the Weser and the Elbe, penetrated as far as the Oder, and at the Eider closed the entrance to Germany against the Danes. His armies also penetrated into Bohemia.

War against the Avars (781-796). — Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, submitted unwillingly to the Frankish domina-



CHARLEMAGNE. (Albert Durer.)



tion. In 786 a vast conspiracy was formed. Tassilo, aided by the Avars of Pannonia, was to attack Austrasia, while the Greeks, in conjunction with the Duke of Benevento, threw themselves upon Italy. Charlemagne anticipated the danger by skilful and energetic measures. Tassilo was surrounded by three armies, and, with his son, consigned to a monastery; his duchy of Bavaria was absorbed. The Italian conspirators did not have time to act. The Avars arrived too late. They attacked Friuli and Bavaria at the same time (788). Driven back into Pannonia, they were followed thither by the Franks. This war was only ended, in 798, by the capture of the *ring* or camp of the Avars, where the Franks found enormous treasures. The struggle had been fatal to the Avars. A part of their country formed the Eastern March, from which Austria was evolved, as Prussia has been from the Saxon March.

Spanish War (778–812).—A Saracen emir, hostile to the caliph of Cordova, offered to put the Franks in possession of the cities which he held south of the Pyrenees. Charles accepted, and, with a numerous army, traversed Gascony, whose duke, Lupus, was compelled to take the oath of allegiance to him. He captured Pampeluna and Saragossa. But, his allies giving him but little assistance, he returned to France through the passes of the Pyrenees. The army was marching through the valley of Roncesvalles, when the Basques, who were ambushed in the woods, made a dash upon the rear-guard, throwing them into disorder, and killing several counts. Among them was Roland, commander of the Marches of Brittany, a hero celebrated in mediæval legend.

The Franks made six other expeditions beyond the Pyrenees. They were conducted by the sons of Charlemagne, and resulted in the creation of the Spanish March, or county of Barcelona, and the March of Gascony, which afterwards became the kingdom of Navarre. The Empire extended nearly to the Ebro. A fleet sent against Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles, drove away from them the Saracen pirates (799).

Charlemagne Emperor of the West (800).—By the year 800 Charlemagne found himself master of France, Germany, three-fourths of Italy, and a part of Spain; he had increased the country left him by his father by more than one-third. These vast possessions were no longer a kingdom, but an empire. He believed he had done enough to authorize him in seating himself on the throne of the West.

About the middle of the year 800 Charlemagne went to Italy, heard and dismissed accusations against the Pope, and received the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem. "On the sacred day of the birth of the Lord," says Eginhard, "while the king was praying before the altar of the blessed Apostle Peter, the Pope placed a crown upon his head, and all the Roman people cried out, 'Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor of the Romans!'"

This ceremony was a great event. The title of Emperor of the West, which had been buried under the ruins wrought by the barbarians, was drawn forth by the pontiff of Rome, and held up to the view of the scattered and hostile nations as an ensign around which they might rally. A new right was created for those who should inherit this crown,—the right to command the Italian, German, and French nations, who were thus united under the authority of the Frankish emperor.

Another person acquired at this time an important prerogative. In crowning Charlemagne, Pope Leo III. had merely performed a religious ceremony. His successors exalted this to a political right, and the pontiffs considered themselves the dispensers of crowns. During all the Middle Ages the imperial consecration could only be obtained in Rome itself, and at the hands of the Holy Father. More than one war was the result of this new right.

Results of the Wars of Charlemagne.—All that he attempted beyond the Pyrenees miscarried. It would have been better if he had thoroughly subdued the Bretons, so as to cause them to adopt more rapidly the French nationality and mode of life, instead of contenting himself with a precarious submission. The conquest of the kingdom of the Lombards profited neither Italy nor France; the Pope alone derived any benefit from it. The country for which those long wars had the most beneficial results was that which suffered most from them, Germany. Before the time of Charlemagne, Germany was still an unformed chaos of tribes,—some Pagan, some Christian, all barbarian, hostile and disunited. After him there was a German people, and a German kingdom was soon to follow.

Appearance of the Northmen.—Incited by the hope of plunder and by dissensions at home, the Northmen set sail, and made their piratical expeditions all along the coast.

They are said to have penetrated into the Mediterranean, even during the lifetime of the Emperor, and he was forced to take defensive measures against them; two fleets were assembled at Boulogne, and near Ghent, two others on the Garonne and the Rhone.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNMENT OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Extent of the Empire.—The boundaries of the Empire were on the north and east the Ocean, from the mouth of the Elbe to the Spanish shore of the Bay of Biscay, with the exception of the Armorican peninsula, which was only tributary; on the south the Pyrenees, and in Spain the lower course of the Ebro; in Italy, the Garigliano and the Pescara, excluding Gaëta and Venice, which acknowledged the sovereignty of Constantinople; and finally, most of the coast of Illyria. On the east the boundary was marked in Illyria by the Bosna and the Save; in Germany, by the Theiss, the mountains to the east of Bohemia, the Saale, and the Elbe. The country between the Elbe and the Eider was subject to Charlemagne.

But beyond these frontiers were tribes half subjugated, half independent; the Navarrese in the Pyrenees, the people of the duke of Benevento in Italy, the Bretons and Bohemians, and, between the Elbe and the Oder, the Obotriti and the Wiltzi. To these may be added the Balearic Isles, Corsica, perhaps also Sardinia, which were disputed possessions.

Restoration of Royal Authority.—The first Carolingians had violently seized upon the authority which the Merovingians had allowed to fall from their enfeebled hands. They had driven usurping officers from the counties, dispossessed a number of the bishops, reconquered Gaul, and re-established, while at the same time increasing the extent of, the Frankish nation, which then seemed about to perish. Disturbances were inevitable during the reconstruction of public authority and of the Empire. Under Pippin the Short and Carloman, regular government had commenced. These two princes had become reconciled with the Church, by making amends for some of the violent measures of their father, but at the same time maintained their recovered authority. With this new line of Germans reappeared some German customs.

The Emperor.—The court of Charlemagne greatly resem-

bled that of the Merovingians, but it was more numerous and more capable; during the last years of his reign, it was held regularly at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), the favorite residence of Charlemagne. About him were his royal officers, a number of bishops, counts, dukes, of *missi dominici*, forming when assembled that floating council which was seen around the Merovingians, a council which, if necessary, could become a tribunal. To render justice was one of the principal occupations of the sovereign at the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle; litigants flocked thither.

This prince must not be thought of as a solemn personage, clothed in purple, a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand. He usually wore tight-fitting garments, of German fashion, and in the country the large cloak of the Frisons. He lived familiarly with his own family, was very indulgent to his daughters, who followed him everywhere, to the chase and even to battle. He took no rest during the day except during the hours appointed for religious services. At church he himself sang and directed the choir.

General Assemblies. — “It was the custom of those times,” says Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, “to hold two assemblies, one in the spring and one in the autumn. At both of them were submitted to the nobles the articles called *capitula*, which the king himself had drawn up under the inspiration of God, or the necessity of which had been manifested during the intervals between meetings. After having received these communications, they deliberated upon them two or three days at most, according to the importance of the subjects. The results of these deliberations were laid before the great prince, who then, with the wisdom which he had received from God, adopted a resolution, to which all submitted.

“While these affairs were thus discussed without the king’s presence, that prince himself was in the midst of the multitude who gathered at the general assembly, occupied in receiving presents, saluting the most distinguished men, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, conversing with those whom he saw rarely, showing an affectionate interest in the aged, or joining in the gayety of the young.

“If the weather was fine, all this took place in the open air, if not, in several different buildings. The places appointed for these assemblies of the nobles were divided into two parts so that the bishops, the abbots and the clergy of

distinguished rank, could meet without mixing with the laymen. Also the counts and other distinguished officers of the State withdrew in the morning from the rest of the multitude. Then both repaired to the hall which had been assigned to them. They could sit together or apart, according to the nature of the affairs upon which they were deliberating. The second occupation of the king was to ask each one what he had to report concerning that part of the kingdom from whence he had come."

These assemblies then no longer resembled the ancient *Champs de Mars* of the Franks, where each freeman took part in the deliberation, but the laws bore, as a sign of royal sanction, "And all this has been approved by the people." In reality, the Emperor made the laws; he consulted the nobles, but the initiative and the decision came from him.

The Army; Taxation. — For each expedition the Emperor convoked the freemen who owed military service. The possession of a certain number of acres of land created the obligation to furnish men for the army, fully equipped, mounted, and furnished with all necessary provisions. If, in order to reach the required number of acres, it was necessary that several landowners should unite, one of them became the soldier, the others furnished the equipment, the arms, and provisions.

Under the Carolingians, there were no more public taxes. The resources of the king were the revenues of his immense domains, the gratuitous gifts of the freemen, and the tribute of money or produce from conquered countries. The State no longer expended money for the public works any more than for the army, — roads and bridges being kept in order by the landowners. The administration cost nothing, because the officers lived, as did the counts, from the revenue of their offices. So Charlemagne had nothing to ask of the people, and could govern as an absolute king. If he had to make gifts he took from the estates of the church *precaria* or benefices, which he assigned to his followers as rewards or favors.

Government; the Count; the Centenarius. — The Empire was divided into counties, which were of about the size of the Roman cities. The counts, the ordinary and resident agents of the general administration, combined all civil, judicial, and military functions. Along with the count, under the first Carolingians, there was the *centenarius* (hun-

dred-man) or vicar, who ruled over a district, in which he held three courts each year, assisted by the *scabini* or royal judges, and the freemen of the country. He judged all causes except certain graver ones, which could only be carried before the court of the count.

The Missi Dominici, etc. — The *missi dominici*, usually a count and a bishop, went over the counties committed to their charge four times a year, so as to be able to keep the Emperor informed as to the wishes of the people. They heard the complaints of his subjects, reformed abuses, and received appeals from sentences rendered by the counts. This institution, known under the Merovingians, became under Charlemagne a regular institution, and would have saved the French royalty if it had been properly maintained.

Charlemagne never placed more than one county in charge of the same person, except on the frontiers, in the Marches, where it was a military necessity. He instituted no duchies, which rendered their possessor too powerful.

The Church. — The Church was closely united to the State. Charlemagne served it in all his wars. He proclaimed himself the devoted defender of Holy Church. He presided over as many councils as assemblies; in his capitularies he recommends the observance of the laws of God and the Church, and excuses himself for not being able to direct each one of his subjects in the path of salvation. Everywhere he employs bishops in the government. He commits to them the supervision of the counts. They were, in his eyes, public officers of a high rank. He appointed them himself, and chose them often from among the clergy of his chapel. This close union of Church and State was to cause danger in the future, but while the glorious monarch was living, the government was strengthened by this close union of the two powers.

Aristocracy. — Charlemagne, powerful as he was, could not stop the progress of society, for no man has sufficient strength for that. Consequently we are forced to observe the persistence and even the progress of that aristocracy which was to stifle the Carolingian monarchy, after having stifled that of the Merovingians.

Beneficiaries. — The Merovingians had granted lands without any positive conditions. The obligation of military service to the donors appears first under the Carolingians. Thus was created that armed clientage of which they had

need ; but the result was that the beneficiaries lost the idea of public obligation, and regarded the king, not as their king, but as their *lord*. The nobles gave benefices also, and their beneficiaries followed the example of those of the king ; so that the small private group, of which the lord was the chief, became more strongly organized.

Vassals. — The number of the vassals of the king or of the nobles was very great even in the time of Charlemagne. The simple freemen, those who owed service only to the king, disappeared. Charlemagne made vain efforts to retain them. Sometimes the freeman, feeling the need of protection, takes refuge of his own accord in the condition of vassal ; sometimes he is compelled to enter into it by those more powerful than himself. Charlemagne, however, recognized the legal existence of vassals. He determined the conditions under which the vassal could leave his lord ; which shows that, except in such cases, the lord had a right to claim and to pursue the fugitive.

Immunities. — Immunities continued to be distributed, especially to the Church. Special jurisdictions were formed everywhere, as a consequence of the immunity, which freed a territory from public jurisdiction. Charlemagne recognized the legal existence of these particular jurisdictions, which were soon to become *quasi* sovereignties. Thus were developed those customs and institutions which were to result in ruining central authority and constituting feudalism.

Conclusion. — There is, then, in the government of Charlemagne a great visible strength and a hidden weakness. The strength of it is due both to historical circumstances and to the personal character of Charlemagne. The circumstances are, the perpetual wars which demanded the activity of the whole people, and the very newness of the Empire founded by the Carolingians. With regard to the personal character of Charlemagne, his energy and his strict sense of duty are well known ; he had also a clear perception of what was possible under the conditions of society which then existed. The causes for the weakening of the royal authority, on the contrary, were permanent, because they were inherent in the constitution of society.

Capitularies. — There are sixty-five of these capitularies, comprising 1151 articles. The diversity of the affairs of which they treat proves the intense energy of the prince, and his ardent desire to bring order into the state. They

show how everything was brought under his personal supervision. While presiding over councils and discussing with bishops, he regulated also the smallest details of the management of his farms. He opposed the usurpation of the estates of the royal domain, and at the same time, warned the people by his advice and counsel against impostors and forgers. He tried to exterminate beggary, and imposed upon each parishioner an obligation to give tithes to his church, dividing them into three parts: the first for the maintenance and ornamentation of the church; the second, for the use of the poor and of strangers; the third alone for the priests. The introduction of the Gregorian chant into the churches was one of his great achievements; another was the reformation of the monasteries, which was carried out by St. Benedict of Aniane. He enlarged the jurisdiction of the Church so as to free it from the royal jurisdiction, and attempted to regulate weights and measures; he fixed a maximum of prices, and tried to repress theft.

Public Works and Schools.—The bishops' sees which he established in Saxony and Pannonia each gave birth to an important city. He began a canal between the Rhine and the Danube; he constructed a bridge at Mainz, a basilica at Aix-la-Chapelle, two palaces at Nymwegen and Ingelheim. He restored a number of churches, and exacted that the priests should be not only pious but learned and charitable, and that they should live in a manner suitable to their profession. He established schools in the bishoprics, in the monasteries, even in his palace. He assisted in the lessons, rewarded the most diligent, and reproved the sons of the nobles when they allowed the sons of the poor to surpass them.

First Literary Renaissance.—He himself studied diligently. Not limiting himself to the study of his mother tongue, he desired to know foreign languages, and learned Latin so thoroughly that he could speak it as well as his own. He understood Greek better than he could speak it. He was so fluent in conversation that he appeared to be fond of talking. Passionately fond of the liberal arts, he respected the men who excelled in them, and loaded them with honors. Under Alcuin, the most learned man of his age, Charlemagne devoted much time to the study of rhetoric, dialectics, and astronomy. He even tried to write, but had little success in this study, having begun too late.

He ordered that the customs of the nations comprised in his Empire should be written out; also the barbarian poems which celebrated the exploits of the ancient chiefs, and thus preserved them for posterity. He also began a grammar of the national language.

Alcuin and Eginhard.— France was at that time behind the other countries of Europe. Charlemagne was obliged to seek beyond his own provinces for men capable of carrying out his ideas. All the schoolmasters of the palace school were foreigners; prominent as their leader was the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, whom Charlemagne with difficulty retained in his service. A Frank, however, eclipsed them all, Eginhard, the Emperor's secretary. His Life of Charlemagne is not only a precious collection of authentic facts, but a book of history, a truly literary composition. It is known that Charlemagne himself had a seat in this academy. The discussions which took place there show that science among them was in its extreme infancy. But we need not value less highly on that account the efforts of these men to emerge from barbarism. Charlemagne was, in fact, fostering a literary renaissance, which doubtless developed slowly, but which thenceforth never ceased.

Foreign Relations of Charlemagne.— Thus the successors of the *rois fainéants* could give a good account of their usurpation. The Empire of the Franks, which was falling to ruin, had been restored and enlarged; and governmental authority, which was collapsing, had been recovered and strengthened. It was not an empty title which Charlemagne had assumed at Rome: he was truly the Emperor of the West. Eginhard shows him to us in his palace of Aix-la-Chapelle, continually surrounded by kings and ambassadors from countries even the most distant. The brilliant and formidable master of Western Asia, the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, sought his friendship, and sent him presents. The Emperor of Constantinople made a treaty with him. He was, if we may believe the account of a writer of Byzantium, even on the point of marrying the Empress Irene, and thus uniting the two Empires.

Death of Charlemagne.— The great Emperor died on the 28th of January, 814. His reign was one continual and glorious effort to fuse together the barbarian world and the remnant of Roman civilization, to reduce to order the chaos born of invasions, and to found a well-regulated society, in

which the authority of the Emperor, co-operating with that of the Pope, should maintain order in the Church as well as in the State, — a very difficult problem, which Charlemagne was able to solve, but all the difficulties of which reappeared after his time. The work of Charlemagne, it is true, did not last; the causes of its failure will be seen presently. Yet, if this chain of nations which he wished to form was broken, his grand image soared above the feudal ages like the genius of order, unceasingly inviting the people to emerge from chaos, to seek union and peace under a strong and glorious chieftain.

CHAPTER XIV.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE
BY THE REVOLT OF THE NATIONS.

(814-843 A.D.)

Louis the Pious (814-840). — Charlemagne had indeed founded a vast empire; but he could not give to these nations, differing in origin, languages, and customs, the possession of common interests and sentiments, or even a desire to remain united in one great political family. When Charlemagne disappeared, all fell apart. The personal ambitions of the princes of the imperial family contributed to the dismemberment of the nations; those of the great landowners and imperial officers favored the parcelling out of the fiefs.

Charlemagne had made his three sons kings: Louis the Pious, of the Aquitanians; Pippin, of the Italians; Charles, of the Germans. The last two died before their father, and this division was annulled; afterwards, Charlemagne bestowed Italy upon Bernard, son of Pippin. But when his strong hand was withdrawn the edifice fell. The nations desired kings; the kings longed for independence. In order to restrain these ambitious desires, a strong will was needed; and the weakest of men succeeded to this weighty heritage. This heir, Louis, was pious and honest; but his piety was that of a monk, and not of a king; and his justice degenerated either into weakness or into cruelty. He began by acts of reparation which involved an imprudent abandonment of the rights of the Empire, and allowed the Romans to institute a new Pope without waiting for the imperial confirmation. At the same time, Louis made great reforms in the court, and severely punished criminals. He offended the great landowners by requiring that all freemen should take the oath of allegiance directly to him. To allay discontent he was lavish of benefices, bestowing them as perpetual possessions. As there had been no public taxation for two centuries, the prince had no revenues other than



LOTHAIR.

From Mss. in the National Library.

those accruing from his own domains, and in alienating his domains, he alienated his revenues.

In 817 the monastic order was subjected universally to the rule of St. Benedict, and the Emperor made a division of his estates among his sons. Pippin received Aquitania; Louis, Bavaria; Lothair, the eldest, was associated with him in the Empire. But they were not to make war, conclude a treaty, or cede a city, without his authority.

Revolt and Death of Bernard (817–818). — Bernard, whom his grandfather had made king of Italy, pretended to consider himself wronged by this division. The people and cities of Italy, eager for independence, joined him in resenting it. The Emperor collected troops from every direction, and came as far as Châlons with a numerous army. Bernard, feeling himself too weak to contend against such forces, surrendered to the Emperor, together with the lords of his kingdom and a great number of clergymen and laity. The Emperor relieved Bernard and his accomplices from the sentence of death, but had their eyes put out. Bernard died a few days after. The rest of the guilty were banished or degraded.

Repression of Insurrection. — The Frankish people were not yet willing that their empire should be dissolved, and they supported with enthusiasm all the wars intended to assure its preservation. The death of Charlemagne had been a signal for armed outbreaks on the part of the tributary and hostile nations. The Slavs of the Elbe had invaded Saxony; the Avars of Pannonia were in revolt; the Bretons came from their peninsula; the Basques destroyed a Frankish army; and the Arabs of Spain invaded Septimania; while the Saracens ravaged the southern coasts, and the Northmen the northern and western. All were repulsed or subdued, and Louis seemed, for a while, to wield the imperial sceptre as worthily as his father.

Public Penance of Louis (822). — But soon the disheartening weakness of this prince became apparent to all. In 822, in the presence of a general assembly of ecclesiastics and nobles at Attigny, he made a public confession of his faults, especially in the matter of Bernard, and did penance for all. However creditable his penitence, Louis went out of the palace of Attigny belittled and degraded, because he had received his absolution from a political body, whose authority rivalled his own.

Deposition and Restoration of Louis (830).—In 823, Judith, the second wife of the Emperor, gave birth to a son who was named Charles. The mother desired that this child should also have a kingdom, and the father, cancelling the partition of 816, made another in 829, by which Alemannia was given to him. The elder sons immediately stirred up the people; the Emperor fell into the hands of the rebels. They compelled the Empress to take the veil and shut their father up in a monastery. But the monks organized another conspiracy with Louis and Pippin, to whom the supremacy of Lothair was already odious, and the assembly of Nymwegen restored Louis to his authority (830).

Second Deposition of Louis (833).—Though restored to the throne he knew no better how to govern. He deposed Pippin and gave his kingdom of Aquitania to the son of Judith; the other sons saw in this a menace to themselves; they again joined forces and attacked their father with three armies near Colmar in Alsace. The Pope was with them. Louis had a considerable number of troops and a battle seemed imminent. But his army was corrupted; and the Emperor gave himself up, with Judith and Charles into their hands. On account of this great treason the place was called Lügenfeld, the field of Lies. The conquerors insulted the old age and dignity of their father by compelling him to read publicly a long account of his errors, after which the bishops came solemnly and took off his military baldric and gave him the dress of a penitent.

Second Restoration of Louis (834); his Death (840).—The humiliation and pious resignation of Louis, the revolting cruelty of his sons, excited the compassion of the people. The brothers moreover came to no better understanding than before. Louis and Pippin would not agree to obey Lothair, who proposed to maintain the unity of the imperial command. They then drew forth Louis from the monastery in which Lothair kept him, and restored him to power (834).

The Emperor, released from the cloister, committed the same errors. In 835 he gave Burgundy, Provence and Septimania to Charles. Pippin king of Aquitania, dying the following year, his children were robbed and Charles received this kingdom also. Then Louis the German and Lothair, being reduced the one to Bavaria and the other to Italy, again took up arms. The Emperor made a treaty with Lothair (839). He gave up to him all the provinces east

of the Meuse, the Jura and the Rhone, with the title of Emperor; the western provinces were the portion of the son of Judith, Louis the German retaining only Bavaria. The latter cried out against this unjust division and the old Emperor spent his last days in this impious war (d. 840).

Battle of Fontanetum (841) and Treaty of Verdun (843). Since the death of Charlemagne the Empire had been in a constant state of agitation. Each prince wished to have a kingdom and each grand division of the Empire wished to have a king of its own, so as to form a separate state. Finally the question received its decision at the solemn battle of Fontanetum near Auxerre. All the tribes of Germany under Louis the German, and the Neustrians, the Burgundians, and the Provençals under Charles the Bald, sought to overthrow the imperial system. The Austrasian Franks and the Italians fought to maintain it. The Emperor Lothair, the eldest son of Louis the Pious, was at their head (841). Both sides prepared themselves for conflict with a sort of religious enthusiasm, which proved that the people had come to this supreme contest as to a judgment of God. After a severe struggle, Lothair was compelled to retreat. But Louis and Charles, in obedience to sentiments foreign to earlier ages of Frankish history, refused to push to extremities their war against their brother.

The battle of Fontanetum was thus indecisive, and the war continued. Louis and Charles met at Strassburg and swore alliance in the presence of their soldiers, one in the *Tudesque* or German tongue, the other in *Romance* or French. The Strassburg oaths are the earliest monument of the French language, formed by the combination of the three idioms which were spoken in Gaul, the Latin and, to a much less extent, the German and Celtic.

Lothair determined to treat. A hundred and ten commissioners went through all the provinces and drew up a list so that an equal division could be made. It was accomplished at Verdun (843). The three principal nations of the Empire, the Germans, Gallo-Franks, and Italians, separated forever, the first under Louis, the second under Charles, the third under Lothair, who retained, with Rome, the title of Emperor, and received also a long and narrow strip of territory which extended from the Meuse to the Rhine, and from the Saône and the Rhone to the Alps (Belgium, Lotharingia or Lorraine, the county of Burgundy, Dauphiny and

Provence). This treaty reduced Gaul one-third and took away for the first time her boundary of the Rhine and the Alps, never yet completely and permanently recovered. Charles the Bald, who signed this fatal convention, thus became, in truth, the first king of modern France, as Louis the German was the first king of Germany; Lothair continued the kingdom of Italy.

Thus the rending of the unity of Christian Europe was accomplished.

CHAPTER XV.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE BY THE
USURPATIONS OF THE LEUDES.

(843-887 A.D.)

Charles the Bald (843-877). — Thus far we have been writing the history of the Gauls, the Gallo-Romans, and the Franks; with the treaty of Verdun we begin the history of the French. France, at this period, had received all the races of which her population is composed, with the exception of the Northmen, and all the elements, — Celtic, Roman, Christian, and German, — from the combination of which her civilization has resulted. The fusion was even then sufficiently advanced to leave no distinction between the Gallo-Romans and the Franks. All had the same manners and customs and almost the same language; law was ceasing to be personal, and becoming local; the customs took the place of either the Roman or the barbarian code; there were scarcely any slaves, and few freemen, and it would not be long before there were only serfs and lords. The Empire of Charlemagne was divided into three kingdoms; France was about to be broken up into feudal principalities, some of which aspired to become wholly independent states.

The son of Judith and Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald, king of France from the year 840, was only a man of vulgar ambitions, who accomplished little in his long reign of thirty-seven years. His embarrassments, it is true, were great. In the first years of his reign the Count of Jacca assumed the sovereignty of Navarre, and the Northmen burned Rouen and pillaged Nantes, Saintes, and Bordeaux; the Aquitanians revolted, desiring to have a national king; the Bretons made Nomenoë their king; Septimania took Bernard for her chief. The Saracens and the Greek pirates ravaged the south, while the Northmen devastated the north and west, and the Hungarians, successors of the Huns and Avars, came in from the east.

The Northmen. — Those much dreaded pirates, the North-

men, were men whom hunger, thirst for pillage, and love of adventure drove out every year from the sterile regions of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. In three days an east wind would bear their two-sailed vessels to the mouth of the Seine. Each fleet was under command of a *kuning*, or king. He was king only on the sea and in time of battle; but was everywhere followed with fidelity, and always obeyed with zeal, because he was always the one reputed to be the bravest of the brave. Equals under such a chief, the Danish pirates sailed gaily over the "swan-path," now coasting along the shore, and fighting their enemies on the straits, bays, and small anchorages, which gave them the name of *vikings*, or bay-men; now darting off in pursuit of them across the ocean. The violent storms of the Northern seas dispersed and shattered their frail vessels; but those who survived their shipwrecked companions had, in consequence, no less courage, and no more care; they laughed at the winds and waves which had not been able to harm them. Often some of them, in the midst of the clash of arms, and at the sight of blood, were seized with a sort of "berserker" madness, which doubled their strength and rendered them insensible to wounds, as though they saw spread before their eyes the palace of their god Odin and the resplendent halls of Walhalla. Others affected, under torture, an indomitable energy, and sang, even in the midst of their tormentors, their own death-song.

Religious fanaticism was added to warlike fanaticism; these pirates loved to shed the blood of priests. Charlemagne had seen these terrible invaders at a distance; under Louis the Pious they became bolder. A few established a colony, in 837, in the island of Walcheren, and sallied forth thence to levy contributions on the countries along the banks of the Meuse and the Waal. From the year 843 they came each year. They entered the estuaries of the rivers, and penetrated into the interior of the countries. A number of cities, even among the most important ones, as Orleans and Paris, were taken and pillaged by them, and Charles was unable to defend them. Finally, it became their custom not to return to their own country during the winter. They established themselves on the islands in the rivers; thither they carried their booty, and thence they set out upon new expeditions.

Edict of Mersen (847); Hasting. — The fifty-three expedi-

tions of Charlemagne had worn out the Frankish race, and his conquests had spread it over three kingdoms. The dissensions among the sons of Louis the Pious had completed the work. The freemen had almost all lost, or for the sake of protection renounced, their independence. The edict of Mersen declares, "Each freeman may choose a lord, either the king or one of his vassals; and no vassal of the king shall be obliged to follow him to war, except against a foreign enemy." Thus the king in civil war was powerless; and as he could neither force the nobles to obey, nor protect the lower classes, the latter formed themselves into groups about the former. On all sides the national interest was made secondary to the personal. Patriotism being thus entirely absent, even small bands could ravage the country with impunity. Charles tried to send them back by giving them gold; this was the surest means of attracting them. The real Northmen were not very numerous. But many inhabitants of the country joined the heathen forces, and these renegades were most to be dreaded. They served as guides to the invaders, and showed even less respect and pity than the Northmen for the faith and the people whom they had deserted. Sometimes a few of the nobles allowed themselves to be bribed by the Northmen not to interfere with their proceedings, and thus secured a tithe of the pillage of France.

The most formidable of these pirates was Hasting, who ravaged the banks of the Loire from 843 to 850, sacked Bordeaux and Saintes, threatened Tarbes, sailed around Spain, and, pillaging as he went, reached even the shores of Italy. He was attracted by the great name and the riches of the capital of the Christian world; but he mistook Luna for Rome. A pretence of desiring baptism failing to open the gates, Hasting feigned death. His companions were allowed to bring his body into the city for Christian burial, when suddenly, in the cathedral, he rose from the bier and, with his friends, fell upon and massacred priests, soldiers, and inhabitants.

Robert the Strong. — Charles the Bald had united part of the country between the Seine and the Loire under the command of Robert the Strong, ancestor of the Capetians, so as to oppose a more effectual resistance to the Northmen and the Bretons, a great number of the latter having made it their habit to join the pirates. Robert twice conquered

the Bretons and defeated a body of Northmen laden with booty. It was this valiant chieftain whom Hasting encountered on his return from Italy. He had just sacked Le Mans, when Robert and the duke of Aquitania attacked him near Angers. The heathens threw themselves into a church and barricaded themselves there; then, suddenly sallying forth at night, surprised their assailants and slew both Robert and the duke (866). Hasting, delivered from this formidable adversary, went up the Loire and penetrated as far as Clermont-Ferrand. No other means could be found to rid France of him than to bestow upon him the county of Chartres, in 882.

Commencement of the Great Fiefs. — The Northmen were not the only embarrassment to Charles the Bald; the Breton Nomenoë repelled all his attacks, and had himself crowned king. Revolts occurred among the Aquitanians. Charles lost Aquitania for some time, recovered it and gave it to one of his sons. But the real masters of the country were the Count of Toulouse, who also ruled over Rouergue and Quercy, the Count of Angoulême, the Duke of Gascony, the Marquis of Septimania, the Duke of Aquitania and Count of Poitiers, and the Count of Auvergne, who all founded hereditary houses. To the north of the Loire, Charles had even been obliged to constitute, for Robert the Strong, the duchy of France, and for others the county of Flanders and the powerful duchy of Burgundy. Yet Charles from time to time made efforts to retain in his service and in that of the state the class of freemen, as for instance in 863 by the edict of Pistes.

Foreign Wars. Edict of Kiersy (877). — This prince, so weak at home, was especially anxious to be great abroad. At the death of the Emperor Lothair, in 855, his heritage had been divided among his three sons. The eldest received Italy, the second Lotharingia, the third Provence. The last lived only till the year 863, the king of Lotharingia till 869, and none of them left children. Charles the Bald tried after their death to get possession of their domains. He failed at first, in 863, but succeeded in 870, and divided Lorraine with his brother, Louis the German. At the death of the eldest brother, the Emperor Louis II., in 876, Charles again aspired to the imperial crown. He went to Rome to have it given him by the Pope, and, his brother, Louis the German, being dead, he undertook to add Germany to

France. He was defeated on the Rhine; Italy also escaped him. In order to secure the support of his vassals in this quarrel, he signed at Kiersy-sur-Oise a capitulary declaring that the sons of those of his counts who should follow him to Italy should succeed their fathers in the office of count. By such hereditary of public functions royalty was despoiled of the powers which she had conferred. Charles died on this expedition at the foot of Mt. Cenis.

Louis the Stammerer (877-879); **Louis III. and Carloman** (879-884); **Charles the Fat** (884-887). — The son of Charles the Bald, Louis the Stammerer, succeeded him as king of France. To conciliate his nobles, he gave up to them some of the domains which still remained in possession of the crown, concessions which his two sons, Louis III. and Carloman, multiplied. These two princes reigned harmoniously, the one in Neustria, the other in Aquitania and Burgundy. The evils of the time continued, however, none the less to increase. Provence became a separate kingdom. Lorraine was abandoned to Germany. Two victories were gained over the Northmen, but did not prevent their robberies from immediately recommencing. The two kings were killed accidentally, Louis in 882, Carloman two years after.

They left a brother, Charles the Simple; but the nobles preferred Charles the Fat, then emperor of Germany. The whole heritage of Charlemagne was united under his control. But this man who bore so many crowns could not even intimidate the Northmen.

Siege of Paris (885-886). — He had already ceded Frisia to one of their chiefs. Another, the famous Rollo, had just taken Rouen and Pontoise, and killed the duke of Le Mans. At the approach of his countrymen, the new count of Chartres, the former pirate Hastings, hastened to join them, and all marched upon Paris, which they had already three times pillaged. But Paris had lately been fortified; great towers covered the bridges which united the island of the city to the faubourgs on the two banks; the Seine was thus closed to the seven hundred great barges which the Northmen wished to row up to Burgundy, into which they had never gone. The inhabitants, encouraged by their bishop, Gozlin, and their Count, Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, resisted for a year. The Northmen established themselves in an entrenched camp. Deserters taught them all that was then known of the military science of the Romans. The

siege was pushed by every possible means. The inhabitants defended their city with the most desperate bravery. Nothing was talked of over the whole country, but the courage of the Parisians, and some were emboldened to emulate them. Several bands of pirates who had quitted the siege were defeated. Duke Henry, the counsellor of Emperor Charles, even succeeded in throwing some reinforcements into the place; but the heathen maintained the blockade. The suffering in the city became extreme; many persons died. The brave Count Eudes escaped in order to hasten the arrival of the Emperor, and as soon as he saw him on the road returned to shut himself up with his people. The promised assistance appeared at last. Duke Henry conducted it, but he was killed and those who followed him were disbanded. Paris then seemed abandoned to its fate. The Northmen believed that total discouragement prevailed and that they could easily overcome the exhausted people. They attempted a general assault; the walls, everywhere manned by brave defenders, were still unapproachable.

At the end of long months Charles at last arrived, with an army, on the heights of Montmartre. The Parisians, full of enthusiasm, were awaiting the signal for the combat, when they were told that the Emperor had again purchased the retreat of this enemy whom they had half conquered, and had allowed him to go and winter in Burgundy; that is, to ravage that province. The Parisians refused to have anything to do with this disgraceful treaty and, when the barges of the Northmen presented themselves to go through the bridges, refused to allow them to pass. The pirates were forced to drag their crafts over land, taking a roundabout way, in order to avoid the heroic city. Paris had gloriously won her title of capital of France; her chief, the brave Count Eudes, was destined to found the first national dynasty.

The cowardly Emperor was deposed (887). The Carolingian Empire was irrevocably dismembered; its ruins served to form seven kingdoms: France, Navarre, Cisjurane Burgundy, Transjurane Burgundy, Lorraine, Italy, and Germany.

Beginning of the Feudal Régime. — But it was not only the Empire which was dismembered, it was also the kingdom and royalty. At the end of the reign of Charlemagne, feudalism was still not definitely constituted; at the ter-

mination of the reign of Charles the Bald, half a century later, it was almost complete. For the royal authority had been ruined, as it had been under the last of the Merovingians, by the same causes and in the same manner. The king had no more money and no more lands to distribute.

Destruction of Public Authority.—After the reign of Charles the Bald, public authority had disappeared. The kingdom, ravaged by the Northmen, the Bretons, and the Aquitanians, was a prey to robbery. Robbery had become so much the custom of the country, that in his 23d capitulary (857), the king orders the bishops, counts, and *missi* to hold general courts, to which they should call every one without exception. The bishop was then to read the precepts of the Évangélistes, the Fathers, and the prophets against robbers. He was to threaten the incorrigible with anathema, and to explain to them the terror of this penalty. The counts and the *missi* on their part were to read the laws of Charles and Louis against robbery. If the criminal should condemn both the sentences of the bishops and the prosecutions of the judges, the king was to order him into his presence. If he refused to come, he was to be excluded from Holy Church on earth and in heaven. He was to be pursued until he was driven from the kingdom. But for this, public force was necessary, and there was no longer any; and this was in fact the reason why the king endeavored to replace it by oaths and the fear of hell.

At no period of history did the weak need protection more than during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Consequently the last of the freemen disappeared from a great portion of Gaul, especially to the north of the Loire.

Meanwhile, here and there in the gorges of the mountains, at the fords of the rivers, on the hills overlooking the plains, entrenchments and walls were thrown up, where the brave and the strong protected themselves. The country was soon covered with them, and the invaders often dashed against them in vain. *Invasions ceased. The lords of these castles were afterwards the terror of the country districts, but at the beginning they had saved them. Feudalism, so oppressive in its season of decline, had nevertheless had its season of legitimacy. These castles, it is true, became nests of robbers. Yet, little by little, a new order arose from this confusion.

The Fief.—It has been seen how the king and the nobles

assured themselves of the services of a number of men more or less considerable, by granting them benefices, or even by taking them under their protection, by making them their vassals. It was possible to be a beneficiary without being a vassal, and a vassal without being a beneficiary. Yet without doubt it more often happens that the man who receives a grant of land becomes the vassal of him who bestows it; the two qualities end by being confounded. A man was both beneficiary and vassal at once; he united the very strict obligations of both conditions. When an estate had been held for several generations by men who inherited these obligations with the soil, it seemed that this piece of land bore in itself its rights and its duties, which were communicated to him who held it. The result was that the estate, which lasted, was considered, rather than the man, who passed away and died. This land, thus charged with obligations, is the fief.

Feudal France. — When France had become covered with fiefs each estate had its fixed conditions; it had its lord, great or small, and there was no land without a lord, no lord without land. Relations were established between the fiefs; there were *fiefs dominants*, and *fiefs dominés*. The fiefs dominant were those of the dukes and counts, who were like small kings in their duchies and their counties. Their vassals and their *arrière-vassals* depended upon them, more than upon the king. The counts and dukes were the vassals of the king; but by degrees, as one rose higher in the feudal hierarchy, the obligation of the vassal became looser.

Such is the great revolution which was accomplished at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries. After the deposition of Charles the Fat, those great fiefs appeared, the names of which are found throughout the whole history of France. The Duke of Gascony possessed almost all the country south of the Garonne; the counts of Toulouse, Auvergne, Périgord, Poitou, and Berry, the provinces between the Garonne and the Loire. To the east and north of the Loire all belonged to the Count of Forez, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of France, and the counts of Flanders and Brittany, who exercised regal rights over their estates. There only remained for the king a few cities which he had not yet been obliged to bestow as fiefs.

Power of the Church. — In the ninth century, royalty had lost its power; feudalism had not yet acquired what it soon

afterwards possessed; the Church alone exercised its full authority. Nothing was lacking to it; superiority of intelligence and morality, the enthusiastic faith of the people, nor rich domains. Finally, at a time when everything was being subdivided, the ecclesiastical body was manifesting its unity and vigor by the fifty-six councils assembled in France during the reign of Charles the Bald alone. The bishops, starting from the right of the Church to interfere in the management of every man guilty of sin, logically arrived at the point of claiming the right to depose kings and dispose of crowns. They took part in the public administration. From the time of Charlemagne they are found participating in all affairs and speaking on all occasions with authority. It was they who degraded or restored Louis the Pious, who decided, at Fontanetum, which side was just.

This power of the Church was a fortunate thing in those ages; for when everything was a prey to the strongest, she alone was capable of reminding the people that above strength there was justice. In the face of the aristocratic principle of feudal organization, she held up that of human fraternity; in the place of hereditary and primogeniture, she practised election and proclaimed the rights of intelligence. If her claim to depose kings was a usurpation of temporal authority, it must be remembered that the latter had no counterpoise but the sacerdotal power, and that the weak and the oppressed had no refuge except in the protection of the churches. When law was powerless and opinion without authority, it was fortunate that somewhere could be found an avenger of outraged morality.

FIFTH PERIOD.



FEUDAL FRANCE (887-1180).



CHAPTER XVI.

THE LAST CAROLINGIANS AND THE DUKES OF FRANCE.

(887-987 A.D.)

Decline of Royalty. — Three-quarters of a century had not passed after the death of Charlemagne when there was no longer either Empire or Emperor. The king of France possessed little more than a title. Yet the tenth century was filled with the quarrel between the two houses which contended for the kingship. These fatal discords favored the invasions of fresh barbarians and the progress of feudalism.

Eudes, Duke of France (887-898). — After the deposition of Charles the Fat, Count Eudes, who had so bravely defended Paris against the Northmen, and who, as a reward, had received from the Emperor the duchy of France, was elected king. He was the son of Robert the Strong and ancestor of all the Capetians. But Eudes was recognized only by the lords between the Loire and the Meuse. Beyond the Meuse Arnulf, king of Germany, reigned; and south of the Loire, the Duke of Aquitania had taken the title of king. At the same time the kingdom of Provence was divided into two parts: Cisjurane Burgundy under Louis, and Transjurane Burgundy under Rodolph. Thus France had five kings. She was soon also to have a sixth, Charles the Simple, to say nothing of the kings of Navarre, or the kings of the Bretons. She had also, as constant and terrible guests, the Northmen, who henceforth never left her borders, and

the Saracens, who, in 889, established themselves at Fraxinetum, on the coast of Provence.

Success of Eudes against the Northmen.—Eudes bravely extricated himself from all these difficulties. He did not recover either Lorraine or the two kingdoms of Burgundy, left the Bretons to quarrel among themselves, forgot Navarre, and agreed to recognize a sort of suzerainty on the part of the Carolingian Arnulf. But he forced the Duke of Aquitania to renounce the title of king and swear fealty to him, and he gained two victories over the Northmen. But the heathen had spread over too much of the country to feel intimidated by the defeat of one of their bands. They at this same time captured and sacked Meaux, Troyes, Toul, Verdun, Dreux and St. Lô.

Rivalry of Eudes and Charles the Simple (893).—To the evils caused by the new barbarians were added those of civil war. The partisans of the Carolingian dynasty placed at their head Charles the Simple, a posthumous son of Louis II., and the archbishop of Rheims consecrated him (893). His partisans were only seeking to complete the ruin of royalty and to establish themselves in their usurpations. But Eudes appeared before Rheims with such an army that his competitor fled for refuge to Arnulf of Germany. The latter commanded the counts and bishops of Lotharingia to re-establish his kinsman in his paternal kingdom. The counts refused, and Eudes remained victorious. But he was unhappily carried off by a premature death at the age of forty. His brother, Robert, inherited his duchy of France, and Charles the Simple succeeded him as king without opposition.

Charles the Simple (898–922) ; Establishment of the Northmen in France (911).—Charles ceded to the Norse chief, Rollo, the province which was ever after called Normandy. This treaty, signed at St. Clair-sur-Epte, was a fortunate agreement, for it put an end to those devastating proceedings which had lasted for a century. The new lords of the land mingled with the old inhabitants, forgot their own language and their ferocity, but retained that spirit of adventure, that love of gain, which had carried them into so many countries, and which was one day to take them into Southern Italy and England. The new duke consented to be baptized at Rouen, and his companions imitated his example (912). He divided the country among them and established good

order. Peace and good order restored cultivation in this rich province; servitude was abolished in it at an early date. It was in Normandy that the feudal régime was constituted with the greatest regularity, that the schools of the convents were most flourishing. And there also that new art seemed to take its rise, which was to erect such magnificent monuments, the pointed style of architecture.

Election of Robert, Duke of France (922); and of Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy (923-926).—In 920, the lords declared that they would no longer obey king Charles, unless within a year he changed his conduct and sent away his minister Haganon. They kept their word; in 922, they crowned Robert, Duke of France, as their king. An encounter took place the following year between the two princes. Charles was defeated, his rival killed. But the son-in-law of Robert, Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, succeeded him.

Germany, more faithful to the blood of Charlemagne, furnished aid to Charles the Simple against his new adversary; but without avail. Made prisoner by the treason of Herbert, Count of Vermandois, he was shut up in the castle of Péronne, where he died in 929. Rodolph reigned seven years more without much glory. Cessions of land like that made to Rollo had put an end to the ravages of the northern pirates. Provence suffered a great deal from the Saracens, who maintained themselves there for eighty-four years. The Hungarians, more numerous and more terrible than the Saracens, happily made only occasional incursions into France.

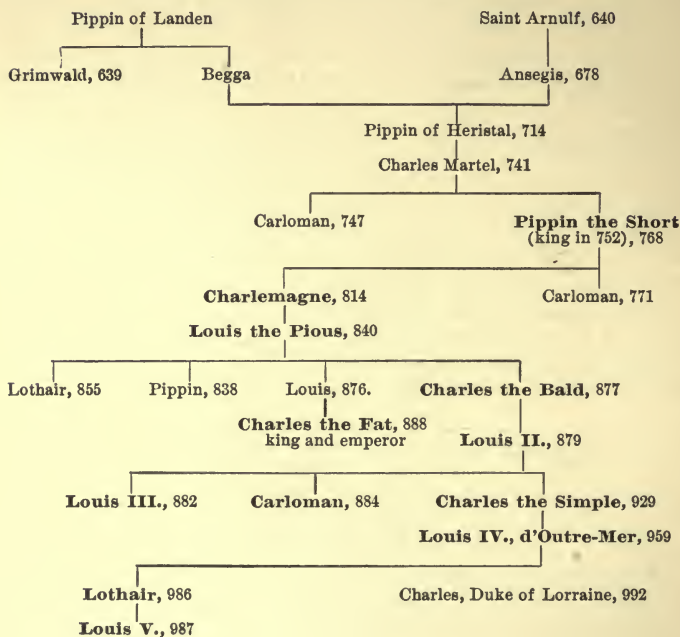
Louis IV. d'Outre-Mer (936-954).—At the death of Rodolph, Hugh the Great, Duke of France, his brother-in-law, recalled from England a son of Charles the Simple, Louis IV., surnamed d'Outre-Mer, aged fifteen. His activity and courage were useless. He obtained the support of some lords who were jealous of the power of the Duke of France. But when he tried to re-create a domain for himself, Hugh took up arms to check this unexpected ambition, and Louis being taken prisoner was kept in captivity for a whole year. Hugh did not open the doors of his prison until he had compelled him to cede to him the city of Laon, the last which remained in the possession of the unfortunate king. Louis complained to the Pope and to the king of Germany, and a council excommunicated the Duke of France. The latter withstood all threats and even an invasion of Otto the Great.

Lothair and Louis V. (954-987). — Louis IV. was killed accidentally, while hunting, in 955, at the age of thirty-four, and thus ended "this life so full of grief and trouble." Hugh the Great, his brother-in-law, gave the crown to his nephew Lothair, the son of Louis. This prince showed considerable energy; the pretensions of Otto to restore the empire rallied around the king of France the great vassals of several countries. The war which ensued was disastrous to Otto. It was much for Lothair to have been able to withstand so powerful a monarch. Obligated to abandon upper Lorraine (980), he nevertheless obtained for his brother Charles the duchy of lower Lorraine or Brabant. He died in 986. His son, Louis V., was killed the following year by a fall from his horse, before having accomplished anything of which history has any record. With him ended the race of Carolingians in France.

The last descendants of Charlemagne evinced greater courage and activity than the last descendants of Clovis, and they deserved a better ending. The cause of their weakness was the extreme poverty to which they were reduced in consequence of the heredity of fiefs. As they had nothing to bestow in return for services rendered them, they were gradually abandoned. In their isolation they sought assistance abroad; they made friends with the foreigners. But the invasions of the Germans in their behalf brought about the peaceable advent of a new dynasty, more French and more national.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE SECOND RACE.

(The date which follows each name is that of death.)



CHAPTER XVII.

THE FIRST FOUR CAPETIANS.

(987-1108 A.D.)

Hugh Capet (987-996). — Charles, the Carolingian Duke of Lower Lorraine, was still living. But Hugh Capet, eldest son of Hugh the Great, and Duke of France, Count of Paris and Orleans, also abbot of St. Martin of Tours, St. Denis and St. Germain des Prés, that is to say, having at his disposal the revenues of three of the richest abbeys of France, decided to assume at last the title of king. The Duke of Burgundy was his brother, the Duke of Normandy his brother-in-law. These princes, meeting in conference at Senlis with the principal lords and bishops of France, rejected Charles of Lorraine and proclaimed Hugh Capet, who was crowned at Noyon. Thus France became finally separated from Germany and the Empire.

Union of a Great Fief with the Crown. — Hugh Capet founded a house which but lately still ruled from several of the thrones of Europe. But the name of king in the tenth century carried with it so little real power, that this termination of the Carolingian dynasty and this advent of a third royal race caused little sensation in the remote provinces. It was however an important event. The princes of the first race had been kings of the Franks; those of the second, Emperors. Hugh Capet was king of France, territorial sovereign. Besides, the crown was united to a great fief. The king became, as Duke of France, Count of Paris, Orleans, etc., if not as king, the equal of the most powerful lords. He had his son crowned king during the first year of his reign, and so abolished elections with their attending anarchy.

Opposition to the New King. — The powerful counts of Flanders, Vermandois, and Troyes, and the archbishop of Sens, declared for Charles of Lorraine. But Hugh reduced the archbishop of Sens, by threatening to have him deposed by the Pope and by the bishops of his ecclesiastical province.

He made preparations, formidable for that period, against the counts of Flanders and Vermandois, and the two counts submitted. In 991, treason terminated the struggle. Charles, delivered into the hands of his rival by the bishop of Laon, was imprisoned in the tower of Orleans, where he died the following year. Hugh Capet was less successful in Aquitania. He thoroughly overcame the Count of Poitiers, who paid him homage; but did not insist upon gaining the submission of the intractable Aquitanians.

Forced Inactivity of the First Capetians. — During their first century, the Capetians reigned but did not govern. They had a title, but they had not the power necessary to enforce the ancient rights with which this title had been traditionally invested. Of the first three successors of Hugh Capet (906–1108), history has little to say. But we ought not to demand of the first Capetians more than they could accomplish. Since the heredit of fiefs had parcelled out the territory, and heredit of offices had divided authority, there remained to the king neither sufficient material power, nor sufficient influence, to act efficiently outside of his own domains. He lived upon his own domains as did the other feudal lords. He held his court of justice, plenary court and parliament; made journeys from one of his cities to another, and interrupted his long periods of leisure only by repeated acts of devotion, long hunts in the forests, or a war against some neighboring baron. In the rest of the kingdom everything took its own course; the lords, each on his own estate, made laws and made war, judged and executed, without any interference from the king.

Alliance of the First Capetians with the Church. — The Capetians had, however, followed the example of the first Carolingians, and united themselves closely with the Church. The Church consecrated their claim and made it popular. Hugh Capet restored to the Church several abbeys in his possession. Robert was a real saint; the princes of the new dynasty deserve the title bestowed upon them by grateful Rome, the eldest sons of the Church. Hence the bishops and abbots of the Île-de-France were often important auxiliaries to the first Capetians.

Character of Capetian Royalty. — The Roman tradition was perpetuated, preserved by the Church, and in the feudal suzerain, the *sovereign* was respected even when he was not obeyed. All the inhabitants of the kingdom of the Franks

were, in law, the *fideles* of the Capetians. Kings, whether of the first, second, or third race, all were kings by the same title, had the same agents or royal officers; the difference is only in the means of action.

Robert (996–1031) ; Queen Constance and the Aquitanians.

—Hugh Capet died in 996, at the age of fifty-four. Robert, his son, began his reign in the midst of the fears which filled the hearts of many of the faithful, at the approach of the year 1000; a date at which, in accordance with the Apocalypse, the world was expected to come to an end. Robert was more a monk than a king, constantly occupied with charities and the chants of the Church. Yet the Pope excommunicated him for having married his cousin Bertha. In spite of his piety, Robert at first resisted the thunderbolts of Rome. But the terror spread among the people by the Papal sentence was so great that Robert submitted; he separated from Bertha and married Constance.

This imperious woman, whom the king himself soon found reason to fear, was the daughter of the Count of Toulouse. She brought with her some of the troubadours who were charming all the Southern country by their songs. But these Aquitanians by their elegance, their luxury, and the frivolity of their manners, greatly shocked the French of the North, and we see in the writers of the time curious evidences of the antipathy of the two races. It will be necessary when we arrive at the Albigenian crusade to remember these old prejudices of the French of the North against those of the South, in order to understand the atrocious character of that war.

Constance became the torment of the king. He concealed himself from her in order to devote himself to his charities; and she incited to revolt, first her eldest son Hugh, who died in 1025, then Henry, her third son.

Foreign Affairs; Acquisition of the Duchy of Burgundy (1016).—Abroad the king of France was more regarded than at home. Under the preceding reign, Duke Borel, who commanded in the Spanish Marches, threatened by the Saracens, had invoked the aid of Hugh Capet. The Italians, wishing to rid themselves of the German domination, offered the crown of their country to Robert; the lords of Lorraine offered to recognize him as their sovereign. Robert declined both offers. Yet he acquired the duchy of Burgundy, after a war of five years (1016). The royal

house found itself temporarily possessed of two of the largest fiefs, the duchies of France and Burgundy.

Persecution of the Jews (1010) ; First Burning of Heretics (1022). — We must notice under Robert's reign, in 997, an insurrection of the serfs of Normandy, a persecution of the Jews, and the first execution of heretics in France. Thirteen of these unfortunate persons were burned at Orleans (1022), and others elsewhere. Heresy roused the indignation of the faithful and the Church, but it attested a certain movement of mind. The first renaissance began in the eleventh century.

Henry I. (1031–1060). — Henry I. was only the third son of Robert; one of his elder brothers was dead, and the other, "being an imbecile, was not king." Henry had to suffer from the ambition of his mother. Constance wished that the crown should pass to her fourth son, Robert. Henry only rid himself of this rivalry by ceding Burgundy to his brother. This Robert was the head of the first Capetian house of Burgundy, which continued to exist until the year 1361.

Henry's reign of thirty years is void of events. With the exception of a few expeditions into Normandy, most of which were unsuccessful, Henry I. did nothing. The most remarkable act of his reign was the marriage of the king to a daughter of the Grand Duke of Russia. Henry selected a princess from a house so remote in order to be sure that she could not be related to him in a degree prohibited by the Church. Anne, it was said, was descended through her mother, the daughter of the Emperor Romanus II., from Philip of Macedon, whence her first-born son received the name of Philip.

The Dukes of Normandy ; the Counts of Blois and Anjou. — While royalty accomplished nothing, the lords accomplished much. Three of them especially, at that time, filled all France with the noise of their ambitious designs and their wars.

Robert, surnamed the Magnificent by the nobles, and the Devil by the people, had usurped the ducal crown of Normandy. By the force of his energy and courage he overcame all resistance, and, having made himself incontestably master of Normandy, interfered in the affairs of all of his neighbors. He sustained king Henry against his brother, which gained him, as a reward, French Vexin. He invaded

Brittany and forced Duke Alan to do him homage (1033). In 1035, seized with remorse, he went to Jerusalem to seek repose for his conscience, and died while on his return.

The son and successor of Robert the Magnificent was the celebrated William the Bastard, who had at first great difficulty in securing the obedience of his vassals. The battle of Val des Dunes, near Caen (1046), finally delivered him from his adversaries. King Henry, his sovereign, who had fought for him, soon found the young duke too powerful, and became the ally of his enemies. This was the cause of the numerous encounters between the Normans and the French (inhabitants of the Île-de-France), the latter being usually sustained by the Angevins and the Bretons. The most bloody of these combats was that of Mortemer, in 1054, a signal victory for the Normans, after which the frightened king retired in great haste, and Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, was obliged to abandon to William the sovereignty of Maine.

Eudes II., Count of Blois, tried to seize upon the kingdom of Provence, and afterwards upon Lorraine, and even counted upon adding, to the Lotharingia thus reconstituted, the crown of Italy. But a battle in the Barrois annihilated the hopes of the turbulent baron. Eudes was defeated there and killed (1037).

Fulk Nerra, or the Black, Count of Anjou, was still more celebrated. He made three pilgrimages to the Holy Land, where he underwent severe penance. Fulk had indeed many crimes to expiate. Of his two wives he had had one burned, or, according to some accounts, had himself stabbed her with a dagger, after she had escaped from a precipice whence he had had her thrown. He compelled the other, by his cruel treatment, to retire to Palestine. His son, Geoffrey Martel, was also a fighter. He had attempted, in 1036, to compel his father, by force of arms, to cede to him the county of Anjou; but old Fulk conquered him and forced the rebel son to crawl on his hands and knees for several miles, with a saddle on his back, and thus come to the count's feet to implore pardon. Geoffrey Martel, jealous of the power of the Duke of Normandy, joined Henry I. against him. His successors carried out this policy, and the kings of France possessed, in the counts of Anjou, useful allies against the Norman dukes, and Norman kings of England, up to the moment when these counts themselves fell heirs to the Britannic crown.

Philip I. (1060–1108). — Philip I. was only seven years old at the time of his father's death. He saw a few gentlemen from Coutances subjugate Southern Italy and Sicily, a Capetian of the house of Burgundy found the kingdom of Portugal, the Duke of Normandy, William the Bastard, achieve the conquest of England, and all the chivalry of France set out on the first crusade. He allowed all these things to be accomplished without taking any part in them. At last, however, urged by jealousy of his too powerful rival, the Duke of Normandy, he made some opposition to him. He took part with the Bretons against him, and helped his eldest son Robert, who had revolted against his father. William entered the domains of the king, destroying everything by fire and sword. Mantes was taken and burned, even the churches, and his skirmishers burned the villages even to the very gates of Paris. Fortunately he met with an accident at Mantes and died soon after near Rouen (1087).

The king of France continued the same policy under the successor of the Conqueror, but with the same inefficiency. He again took part with Robert, Duke of Normandy, against William Rufus, who had usurped from his eldest brother the kingdom of England, and then suffered himself to be bought off by the latter. He clearly perceived the peril which threatened France with a king of England possessing Normandy and thus master of the approaches to Paris, but he had not the courage to make the effort necessary to avert it. Yet under this indolent prince, the domain was increased by the addition of French Vexin, Gâtinais, and the viscounty of Bourges, which he bought.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FRANCE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.—EXPOSITION OF
THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

Three Different Societies.—In the sixth century there were three societies in Gaul (p. 53): the Gallo-Romans, the Barbarians, and the Church. In the eleventh there were also three: the lords, the clergy, and the serfs, each having its customs, its own organization, and to a certain extent its own special language and literature; the first two, rich, powerful and active; the last, poor and oppressed.

The Feudal Society; Fiefs and Vassals.—It has been seen that the edict of Mersen, in 847, allowed every free man to choose his lord, and that the edict of Kiersy paved the way, in 877, for heredity of royal officers. These edicts set the seal upon a revolution begun long before, and out of which arose a new social order, which, after having ruled Europe completely for several centuries, has even yet not entirely disappeared.

There had been since the time of the Carolingians two principal kinds of landed property: *allods*, lands free from taxation and dues; and *benefices*, lands burdened with dues more or less numerous. He who had received a benefice or fief was obliged to render to him who had bestowed it either personal services, or payments in kind, in exchange for which he could count upon being protected by the donor. The most important of these obligations was that of military service. Owners of allods, free of all rents, but isolated, sought for protection by recommending themselves to some powerful man in the vicinity; *i.e.*, by making a fictitious cession of lands to the protector whom they had chosen, in order to receive it again from his hands as a benefice, with all those charges of military service and payments in kind with which the beneficiary property was burdened. This custom became general. Charlemagne himself contributed to render it so by the obligation which he imposed upon all freemen to choose a lord and to remain faithful to

him. Towards the end of the reign of Charles the Bald, the revolution was accomplished; henceforth there were, in general, no lands which were not benefices, or fiefs; that is to say, each estate was dependent upon another and each man upon some other man. The former was the *fief mouvant* held by the *vassals*; the latter the *fief dominant* held by the *suzerain* or *lord*. Such fiefs naturally tended to become hereditary, and under the weak successors of Charlemagne heredity of benefices acquired the force of a custom and soon of a right.

Heredity of Public Functions or Offices.—It was the same with the public offices and the titles of duke, count, etc., to which was attached an authority delegated by the prince. Charlemagne watched over the too free manners of his counts and kept them aware that he himself was the master. His successors could not carry out this wise policy. Without money, without lands, the kings had no longer the power to prevent their officers from assuming hereditary possession of the functions with which they were invested.

This usurpation of the royal rights gave each great landowner or lord sovereign prerogatives; the right to make war, to coin money, to make laws, to judge and to execute sentences, etc. This usurpation took place in all degrees of the administrative hierarchy, among the dukes, counts, viscounts, and centenarii, and the result was the feudal system. One hundred and fifty tenants-in-chief, at the accession of Hugh Capet, exercised the right of coining money, and many others made war at will, legislated, and judged. Throughout the whole territory, public office was transformed into individual privilege. Each great proprietor had had, from time immemorial, a domestic jurisdiction over his slaves, serving-men, coloni and tenants. The usurpation of the lords therefore did not consist in attributing to themselves the right to administer justice, but in assuming the right, as sovereigns, to pronounce final sentence.

There were few landowners in the Middle Ages; but landownership was much more strongly constituted than at the present day, because it bestowed political, legislative, and judicial power. Property and magistracy were one and the same thing. The feudal lord was at once both proprietor and sovereign.

The Feudal Hierarchy.—Those lords who did homage to the king in person, as the counts of Champagne and

Flanders, the dukes of Burgundy and Aquitania, were called grand vassals. The proprietors of fiefs formed a vast hierarchy in which each usually sustained the double character of sovereign and vassal. Thus a count, the vassal of a duke or a king, was suzerain of several viscounts, barons or knights. The king of France was himself the vassal of the abbot of St. Denis for an estate which he held of that abbey. But it is to be observed that a count was not always and everywhere superior to a viscount and subordinate to a duke. The hierarchical subordination existed only in the interior of each fief; and the Count of Anjou had nothing in common with the Duke of Burgundy, except his title of vassal of the crown of France. In many of the fiefs the vassals treated their suzerain as the great nobles treated the king of France. It was the expressly recognized right of the vassal to make war against his lord whenever he thought proper, withdrawing his homage, on condition of restoring the fief, which he usually took care not to do. Finally, a man might be the vassal of two different sovereigns and be required by each of them at the same time to perform military service.

Homage; Fidelity; Investiture. — The feudal relation was established by a ceremony which consisted of three principal formalities. He who received land from another knelt before him, his hands in those of his future lord, and declared that he would become his man. Then he took the oath of fidelity. Then the lord, in his turn, gave him the land by investiture, giving him a turf, a twig from a tree, or, in the case of the great fiefs, a standard.

Suzerain and Vassal. — This triple ceremony over, the one became the suzerain, the other the vassal, and from that moment duties and reciprocal rights bound them together. The suzerain owed justice and protection to his vassal and could not withdraw his fief except by reason of forfeiture or treason. The most important of all the obligations imposed upon the vassal was that of following the suzerain to war. The conditions upon which the vassals received their fiefs determined for how many days they should render this service, and with how many men. Some rendered this service only within the limits of the estates of the suzerain, and for his defence, not for attack. Abbots and women, personally exempt from service, furnished substitutes. The vassal was also obliged to assist his overlord by his counsel,

when he required it, and to serve him in his court of justice. There were also the *feudal aids*. The vassal was under obligation to help his suzerain to pay his ransom, to marry his eldest daughter, to arm his eldest son as knight, to equip himself for the journey to the Holy Land. At each succession to a fief, the lord collected a *relief*, which was paid by the heir of the fief when he received investiture. It was a sum of money, or a war horse, a saddle, arms, etc. If a vassal sold his fief, a sum equal to a year's revenue was paid to the suzerain. The fief left without an heir, or under confiscation for faithlessness on the part of the vassal, reverted to the lord. The vassal who was a minor was under the guardianship of the suzerain, who collected the income until his majority. Female wards must marry none but the man presented to them by their suzerain, or pay a considerable sum.

There were, moreover, moral obligations. The vassal was expected to keep the secrets of his suzerain, to expose the intrigues of his enemies, and always to defend his honor; in a word, he was to spare neither his person nor his property in order to save him from peril or shame. These obligations fulfilled, the vassal became almost absolute master of his own fief, and could lose it only through unfaithfulness.

Peers; Judicial Duel; Private War. — The vassals of the same lord were peers or equals of each other (*pares*), and composed his court of justice, from which appeal was permitted to the court of the superior suzerain. In all cases, judicial combat, or duel in the arena, decided questions of justice and truth. The conquered was necessarily the criminal. It was God who pronounced the sentence. When one of the parties was a woman, a cleric, a child, or an old man, she or he could have a champion for a substitute, but ran all the risks of the combat. The defeat of the champion was the condemnation of him whom he represented. If men were too impatient for these processes, they immediately had recourse to arms, exercising the right of private war.

All the lords did not have equal jurisdiction. There was the higher, the middle, and the lower justice, and certain nobles had only the second and the last. The distinctions between them sometimes depended upon the nature of penalties, sometimes upon the status of the persons amenable to the tribunal. The right of high justice carried with it the right to pronounce sentence of death.

A Feudal Castle. — The castles of the feudal lords were generally enormous edifices, round or square, placed on high positions so as to secure an extensive outlook, massive, without architecture or ornament, and pierced only by a few loop-holes, through which arrows were shot, and having often five walls each higher than the other.

The draw-bridge, when raised, covered the castle gate, which was still further defended by the portcullis or heavy iron grating, sliding in grooves. In the angles of the fortress rose large towers furnished with battlements which protected the defenders of the place against arrows shot from outside; and by machicolations, parapets opening below, through which boiling water and burning pitch could be poured on the assailants when they came to the foot of the wall. It being desirable to place the *donjon* in the most inaccessible part of the castle, so as to occupy and command the whole place, it was usually constructed in the middle, though sometimes it touched the ramparts. Immense subterranean passages led from it to an opening far away in the plain or the forest.

The Troubadour and the Trouvère. — Man can neither fight nor hunt always. The pilgrim, who passed by from time to time, entertained the inhabitants of the manorial residence by pious recitals and news from foreign countries. But a fortunate thing was the arrival of a bard, called in the North *trouvère* and in the South *troubadour*, who, seated by the fireside of the lord, sang to him, during the long evenings, the marvellous exploits of the knights of the Round Table, of Roland, Charlemagne and his twelve peers, or tragical adventures, or the exploits of Reynard the Fox.

Tournaments. — There were also plays and festivals; but the plays and feasts of this warlike society were challenges and combats often mortal, jousts, and tournaments. Only arms of courtesy were borne at these tournaments; that is, arms without point or of blunt edge; but in combats à *outrance*, ordinary arms were carried. The judges of the tournament made the knights swear to fight loyally, and after measuring the lances and swords, gave the signal for the combat. The combatants rushed against each other; if their lances broke against the bucklers, or the iron armor of their opponents, they fought with the sword or the battle-axe till one of the two was conquered. The ladies often awarded the prize. These festivals always attracted a great

number of princes, lords, and knights, but always some were borne from the lists dying or dead.

Arms. — Until the time of Charlemagne arms had been mostly offensive; in the Middle Ages they were mostly defensive. From the eleventh to the fourteenth century, the knights wore the coat of mail or hauberk, which covered the warrior from head to foot, and under it the *gambeson* or *haqueton*. The helmet, of thin iron, covered the head and allowed sight and breathing only through narrow openings. The helmet was only worn by knights, but all warriors wore an iron cap. The shield or buckler completed the defensive armor. The offensive arms were the sword, the lance, the battle-axe, the mace, the flail, and the dagger. Foot-soldiers carried only a knife and bow, or the crossbow, which had been brought from Asia in the twelfth century.

Religious Society; Ecclesiastical Feudalism. — In the tenth century, the ecclesiastical lands, acquired by the gifts of the faithful, covered vast tracts throughout all Catholic Europe. The relative security which was enjoyed upon such lands increased the population. Many of the small proprietors commended themselves and their lands to the churches, in order to secure their protection. The tithes, rendered obligatory by Charlemagne, assured still other riches to the clergy, and the voluntary jurisdiction, which Constantine had recognized as belonging to them, increased from day to day at the expense of the ordinary tribunals. In the last days of the Roman Empire, the bishops had held a high position in the cities. They had often been invested with the office of *defensores civitatis*. Afterwards the barbarian kings had called them to their councils, employed them as *missi dominici*, and often as counts. Thus uniting political and spiritual authority, the bishop was often the suzerain of all the lords of his diocese. The church possessed immense wealth. In order to protect it from the robberies of the times, she chose laymen to whom she confided her domains, that they might defend them with the sword. But these *advocati* of the monasteries and the churches, like the king's counts, rendered their functions hereditary and took for themselves the property which had been committed to their care. They however consented to consider themselves vassals of those whom they had despoiled. The abbots and bishops thus became temporal lords, having numerous vassals ready to take up arms for

their cause, a court of justice, — all the prerogatives, indeed, which were exercised by the great proprietors. The ecclesiastical feudalism was so extensive, so powerful, that in France and in England, it possessed in the Middle Ages more than a fifth of all the lands; in Germany almost a third. For the church was daily acquiring new lands. There were indeed few of the faithful who died without leaving her some property.

Councils; the Papacy. — This external situation of the church seemed necessarily to react upon its internal organization. The bishops and abbots, who were seated among the great ones of the land, and who, in such assemblies, held the first rank, formed in temporal affairs a great aristocratic body, having political independence, and desiring also to have, in a certain degree, spiritual independence. They also tried to create, for the regulation of the religious interests of their dioceses, a sort of parliamentary government, by frequently convening provincial and national councils.

But these bishops had a chief, the Pope. After the energetic pontificate of Nicholas I. (858–867), the Papacy, dominated by the factions which desolated the city of Rome, fell into extreme decline, and lived in the midst of great scandals. Yet meanwhile the theologians drew up, unopposed, the False Decretals, which made the Pope the judge of all bishops and all kings; and the monks, in their preaching, were everywhere advocating the sovereign intervention of the head of the Church. Then this unarmed priest, whose voice was powerless in Rome, was heard to speak with authority beyond the mountains, through his legates, to bishops and kings; removed convents from the jurisdiction of bishops, in order to place them directly under his own authority; encouraged the institution of *chapters*, which soon arrogated to themselves, at the expense of the bishop, a direct authority in the administration of the diocese; and finally declared, by the mouth of Nicholas I., that the decrees of the Pope should be law throughout the whole Church, and that under the title of universal bishop the sovereign pontiff could exercise episcopal rights in all churches.

The pontifical monarchy was therefore, from the ninth century on, firmly established; but in the tenth, the imperial authority, reconstructed by Otto of Germany, would not suffer partition, and the result was the famous quarrel on the subject of investitures.

The Monks. — Martin of Tours founded the first monastery of Gaul, that of Ligugé, near Poitiers. In the sixth century St. Benedict drew up the famous rule which, adopted by almost all the monks of the West, gave rise to the celebrated order of the Benedictines. It imposed prayer but also manual labor, which led the brothers to work uncultivated lands; reading, which obliged them to copy manuscripts; perpetual vows, which permitted stricter discipline and a more regular organization. The abbot was elected, but after the election his authority was almost absolute in the monastery. In those terrible times, men who were not made to live amid the violence of the world experienced great relief in placing their entire intellectual being under a paternal guidance, with the certainty of possessing during this life a secure and peaceful retreat; in the other, salvation. Consequently monasteries multiplied rapidly. They were endowed with great domains through the piety of the kings and of the faithful, favored by the bishops, to whose jurisdiction they were subject, and, in those days, did great good. These monasteries were most often asylums of peace, of piety, of work, and even of learning.

Letters in the Church. — Charlemagne had had, like all great minds, a strong desire to rule over a civilized empire rather than over barbarians. He gave orders that schools should be established, and that they should be attended not only by the sons of serfs, but by those of freemen. Such commands tended to form an intelligent society among the laity, which would have changed the whole history of the Middle Ages. But after Charlemagne was dead, the nobility in the schools threw away Latin grammar and Teutonic grammar. They saw with delight the opening of the career of civil war, — a career in which each one could do as he liked, and in which everything was the prize of courage.

Hincmar and Scotus Erigena. — Ecclesiastical society, at least, preserved something of the impulse given to study by Charlemagne. The ninth century showed an intellectual development which is not without a certain grandeur. Hincmar succeeded Alcuin, and Charles the Bald strove to imitate Charlemagne. Education was recommended by laws and councils; attempts were made to restore the Carolingian schools.

There was even a movement of philosophic ideas which

presaged those of the great centuries of the Middle Ages. The monk Gottschalk had believed that he could find in the writings of St. Augustine the dogma of predestination, but was silenced, condemned by two councils and shut up for life in a cloister, by Hincmar. The celebrated John Scotus Erigena (*i.e.*, the Irishman) also provoked repression by his purely human and philosophical reasoning, founded on the study of the philosophy of the ancients.

Fresh Decline at the End of the Ninth Century, and Second Renaissance in the Eleventh. — But political confusion increased. Learning took refuge in isolated monasteries. Frightful misery prevailed everywhere; pestilence and famine decimated the nations. The year 1000 approached; nothing was built, nothing repaired, nothing laid by for the future.

But this troubled time passed by as all others had done. The sun rose as usual in the first day of the year 1000. Suspended life resumed its course with renewed activity. The world thanked God, who had allowed it to live, by a great desire for Christian unity and religious heroism which found its expression in the Crusades. Churches were rebuilt, and monasteries founded; 326 were established in the eleventh century, 802 in the twelfth. Mental activity revived. Pope Sylvester II. attained a scientific knowledge which later caused him to pass among the ignorant for a magician sold to the devil. The second renaissance occurred especially in France and particularly in Normandy. The abbey of Bec, made famous from its foundation by the presence of the two great doctors, Lanfranc and St. Anselm, and many others, were built in this period. In the seclusion of these monasteries the monks were no longer content with copying manuscripts. They were interested in the events which took place around them and wrote descriptions of them, or strove to establish their faith firmly by theological discussions which again became learned. Richer and William of Jumièges composed valuable histories.

Lanfranc and Anselm, Berengar and Roscelinus. — Still others taught, and the scholars gathered about them. At Caen, the Italian Lanfranc (1005–1089), afterward archbishop of Canterbury, had more than 4000 auditors. This renewed mental activity sometimes led men astray from the old paths. We have spoken of the heresy which brought thirteen unfortunate persons to the stake in 1022. Another,

stirred up by Berengar of Tours, troubled the Church for more than thirty years (1050–1080). Berengar tried to give reasons for his faith, and boldly attempted to reason concerning the mysteries of the Eucharist. Lanfranc was his principal adversary.

Anselm, an Italian like Lanfranc, and his successor in the abbey of Bec and the see of Canterbury, revived the study of dogmatic theology, which had been almost laid aside since the time of St. Augustine. He employed all the strength of his powerful mind and all the resources of dialectics in demonstrating the truths of Christian dogma. Anselm, like Lanfranc, attacked the bold innovators, who essayed to subject the dogmas to reasoning founded on the logic of Aristotle. Berengar had tried to interpret the mystery of the Eucharist. Roscelinus, about the year 1085, attacked that of the Trinity, and scholasticism began its subtle discussions with the quarrels between the *realists* and the *nominalists*.

The Arts in the Church. — The Church also formed and directed architects, painters, and sculptors. The eleventh century was the first period of the grand architecture of the Middle Ages. In the East, Christian architecture had found its form as early as the sixth century; the Greek cross and the dome were its distinguishing characteristics. But, on the one hand, the construction of a dome with a circular base at the centre of a cross, that is, of a dome superimposed upon a square, presented great architectural difficulties. On the other hand, the religious edifice needed to cover a great space in order to shelter the multitude of the faithful who came to witness the ceremonies and hear the pastoral instructions. The problem was solved by a system of construction of which St. Sophia, at Constantinople, was the most beautiful expression, and of which the characteristic feature was the central dome resting on four high arches and supported by secondary vaultings.

In the West, the Christians established themselves at first in basilicas, vast quadrangular buildings, intended for merchants and lawyers, the interior of which was divided into three naves by a double colonnade, terminating in a semicircle, the *apsis*, where the judge sat. The necessities of worship soon modified the Roman basilica. Its ground-plan was given the form of the Latin cross. Then the *apsis* was crossed by transepts, the centre of which formed the

choir. The necessities of the climate, which required that the roofs should be sloping, so as not to retain either rain or snow, and the difficulty, insurmountable to the barbarous people of the tenth century, of rearing the Byzantine dome, compelled them to cover the churches with heavy timber-work, the thrust of which would have thrown down the walls if the latter had not been supported by powerful external buttresses. Finally, to admit air and light, openings were made in the façade and sides by windows terminating at the top in a semicircle. The result of these divers innovations was the architecture called Saxon in England, Lombard in Italy and Romance in France, where it prevailed from the tenth to the thirteenth century. Then the stout pillars of the old Carolingian churches grew lighter; the low arches rose more boldly, the naves became less sombre, the towers more lofty. The use of decorative sculpture commenced, and the pointed arch began to appear.

Serfs. — In the eleventh century, France was covered with a multitude of fiefs, each of which formed a state having its own life, laws, and customs, and its ecclesiastical or lay chief, almost an independent sovereign. This chief, or noble, had not only vassals, but also subjects residing on that part of his fief which he had not subjected to subinfeudation. These were, first, the serfs, properly speaking, beings entirely at his disposal. "The lord," says Beaumanoir, "can take from them all that they have and keep them in prison as long as he likes, whether justly or unjustly, and he is expected to render account of all this to God alone."

Mainmortables. — Besides these are the *mainmortables*, "more humanely treated," continues the old jurist, "for the lord can demand nothing of them, if they do well, beyond their quit-rents and dues which it is their custom to pay in lieu of their services." But the *mainmortable* cannot marry without the consent of the lord, and if he take as wife a free woman or one born out of the lordship, "he can be fined according to the pleasure of the lord." The children were equally divided between the two lords. If there were only one he belonged to the lord of the mother. At the death of the *mainmortable* all he possessed belonged to his lord.

Villeins. — Of a higher degree were the free under-farmers, called *villeins* or *roturiers*. Their condition was less

precarious. They had preserved their liberty, and they held, on condition of an annual rent and *corvées*, the quit-rent lands which the proprietor of the demesne had ceded to them, and which they could transmit with all their possessions to their children. But the quit-rent tenures were in the absolute jurisdiction of the proprietors, and the villeins, especially those of the rural districts, were subject to a power generally unlimited.

The abandonment of all rights to the lord, but in exchange an obligation resting upon him to defend the weak, — such is the principle of feudal society with regard to subjects. Royalty no longer fulfilling the office for which it was instituted, the people asked from the bishops, counts, and barons, that protection which they could not expect from the nominal head of the State.

Dues of the Dependent Classes. — Everything belonged to the lord; but the requirements of the lord were not at first oppressive, and for the villeins they were regularly determined, although, in the Middle Ages, one must always take into account the prevalence of arbitrariness and violence such as the law would not now permit.

The obligations of the villeins then were payments in kind, such as provisions, the products of the land and the farm; manual labor, such as the *corvées* on the lands and vineyards of the lords, in the construction of the castle and repairing of the roads, etc. In the cities and wherever there was a little prosperity, the lord did not fail to exact rental in money. The *customs* or rents in kind and in money were regulated; the *tailles* were not, and were levied arbitrarily.

There were also whimsical payments which enlivened the joyless life of the feudal lord, shut up all the year round within the gloomy walls of his castle. Feudalism, wearied with itself, sometimes laughed with the poor people, as the Church also did, when she authorized the celebration, in the churches, of the Feast of the Ass. The powerful, the fortunate, in those hard, sad times, when misery was everywhere and security nowhere, owed their villeins and serfs a few moments of forgetfulness and gayety.

Anarchy and Violence. — The Middle Ages were indeed a hard time for the poor. In theory, the principles of the feudal relation were excellent; in reality, they led to anarchy, for the judicial institutions were too defective to pre-

vent the bond of vassalage being broken every instant. Each man could call his fellow to account with his sword for any wrong sustained, or sentence which he considered unjust; war was the usual condition of society. Every hill became a fortress; every plain a battle-field. Cantoned in strong fortresses, covered with iron armor, surrounded by armed men, the feudal lords loved combats and knew of no other means to enrich themselves than pillage. There was no trade, for the highways were not safe; no industry, for the lords, masters also of the cities, levied contributions upon the burghers as soon as they showed any signs of opulence. The clergy, the guardians of moral law, found themselves not able to forbid violence, but only to regulate it, by establishing the truce of God, which forbade killing or robbery from Wednesday evening to Monday morning.

Frightful Misery; a Famine in the Eleventh Century. —

Upon whom did the weight of all these feudal miseries fall? Not extremely destructive to the nobles covered with iron, they were fatal to the serfs, unprovided with defensive armor. At Brenneville, where the two kings of France and England fought a battle, 900 knights were engaged and only three were left on the field. The lord captured, another calamity arose; his ransom must be paid. But who would pay for the burned hut and harvest of the poor laborer? Who would heal his wounds? Who would feed his widow and orphans?

William, archbishop of Tyre, one of the historians of the crusades, thus paints these dreadful times: "There was no security for property; a man's being reputed to be rich was sufficient reason for throwing him into prison, keeping him in chains, and subjecting him to cruel tortures. Robbers, girt with swords, infested the highways, started from ambushes, and spared neither strangers nor men devoted to the service of God. Neither cities nor fortresses were exempt from these calamities; assassins rendered their streets and places dangerous for men of wealth."

Frequent famines caused intense sufferings, insomuch that not a few even resorted to cannibalism, and children and travellers were slain to satisfy the hunger of the peasants. At the present day, improved means of communication and the spirit of order and foresight enable us to combat such calamities, so that they produce but little suffering, and what is still better they do not unsettle pub-

lic morality. Formerly there was nothing to guard against the inclemencies of the seasons. Every poor harvest brought about a scarcity, every scarcity a famine, and with famine came crimes and atrocities. During the seventy years between 970 and 1040 there were forty-eight years of famine or epidemic.

Some Fortunate Results.—But meanwhile the general progress of civilization was by no means completely suspended. In the Church, thought revived, and in the lay society, poetry appeared. There was even progress in morality, at least in the highest classes. In the isolation in which each man lived, exposed to every peril, the soul strengthened itself to endurance. The feeling of the dignity of man, which despotism had destroyed, was restored; and that society which shed blood with such deplorable facility, bequeathed to modern times the sentiment of honor.

Another fortunate consequence was the reorganization of the family. In the ancient cities, a man lived outside of his own house, in the fields or the forum. In feudal society, where men lived in isolation, the father was brought nearer to his family. The Church, which had caused these rude soldiers to kneel at the feet of a virgin, which made them respect in the mother of the Saviour all the virtues of women, softened the ferocious spirit of warriors and prepared them to appreciate the charm of the finer mind and more delicate sentiments of womankind. Woman then took her place in the family and in society; she even became the object of a worship which called into existence the new sentiments of chivalry.

Outside of the family, the State was doubtless very ill organized. Yet we ought to take notice of the political theory which that society represented. If the serf had no rights, the vassal had, and very important ones. The feudal bond was entered into only on conditions thoroughly understood and accepted by him in advance. New conditions could be imposed upon him only with his consent. Hence came those great and forcible maxims of public right which in spite of a thousand violations have come down to us. No tax could be exacted except with the express consent of the tax-payers; no law was of any value if it was not accepted by those who would owe obedience to it or by their representatives; no sentence was lawful unless rendered by the peers of the accused. As a guarantee of his rights, the

vassal had the right to break the tie of vassalage by giving back his fief, or to reply by war to any denial of justice on the part of his suzerain. This right of armed resistance made society weak, but it made the individual exceedingly strong. Before even thinking of constituting the State intelligently, it was necessary to elevate the individual and the family; this double task was the work of the Middle Ages.

The Church worked at it energetically: by establishing the sanctity of marriage, even for the serf; by preaching the equality of all men in the eyes of God; by proclaiming, through its maintenance of the principle of election, the rights of intelligence in the face of the feudal world which recognized only the rights of blood; by raising to the chair of St. Peter a serf like Adrian IV., or the son of a poor carpenter like Gregory VII.

CHAPTER XIX.

EXTERNAL ENTERPRISES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE
ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Pilgrimages.—The eleventh century was the period of the most ardent faith among the people. Everywhere piety found relics of forgotten saints, and monasteries were raised over their tombs. Upon the announcement of some pious discovery, the people gathered in throngs from all the neighboring provinces. By degrees they were encouraged to go farther still; to St. Martin of Tours on the Loire, to St. James (Santiago) of Compostella in Galicia, to Monte Cassino in Italy, to the tombs of the apostles at Rome. From thence to Jerusalem there was only the sea to cross. It was a perilous journey, but faith took no account of perils. As early as the days of king Henry, "an innumerable crowd came from the ends of the world to visit the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem." Fulk Nerra, Count of Anjou, went thither three times. Robert the Magnificent, Duke of Normandy, also made this pilgrimage, and died at Nice (1035). The counts of Barcelona, Flanders, and Verdun, attempted the voyage and succeeded. In 1054, the bishop of Cambrai set out with 3000 Flemings; in 1067, four German bishops, with 7000 men.

Effects of the Reforms in the Church by Gregory VII.—The world was thus setting itself in motion, when Gregory VII. gave it a fresh impulse which shook the Church and, through her, lay society also. In the eleventh century the Church was very rich; many of her members assumed the habits of feudal lords. Discipline was as lax as manners and morals. Celibacy was no longer strictly observed; and it appears that the offices of the Church were about to become hereditary, as those of the State had already become.

Hildebrand, who had been made Pope under the name of Gregory VII., in 1073, saved the Church from this danger. He brought the clergy back to the exercise of the virtues of abstinence and sacrifice, and endeavored to place it above

the influence of temporal power. In order to bring it again under the sole authority of the see of Rome, he desired that, when granting spiritual consecration to a bishop, the Pope should bestow upon him at the same time the investiture of the lands pertaining to his Church. Although he failed in this part of his great undertaking, yet the Holy See acquired new life through his efforts, the Church a greater influence over the people and the affairs of the world. She owed it to Gregory VII. that she was able to accomplish one of the most important events of the Middle Ages, — the changing of pilgrimages into crusades.

Conquest of Southern Italy by the Normans (1083–1130). — First there were military expeditions undertaken under the influence of the Holy See. For instance, some Norman pilgrims, who came to Rome about the year 1016, were employed by the Pope against the Greeks who were attacking Benevento. Others, returning from Jerusalem, aided the inhabitants of Salerno to drive away the Saracens who were besieging them. The reports of their success attracted other Normans, who soon became masters of the country. Pope Leo IX. marched against them with an army of Germans. They took him prisoner, but soon declared themselves his vassals, and received from him in fief all that they had conquered (1053). This constituted the Duchy of Apulia, to which the Normans soon added Sicily. A Norman dynasty, having for its chiefs Robert Guiscard and Roger, sons of a gentleman of Coutances, reigned at Naples.

Conquest of England by the Normans (1066). — Another Norman dynasty seated itself at the same time on the throne of England. Edward the Confessor, who had been restored to that throne on the expulsion of the Danish line, showed great favor to the Normans, among whom he had lived during his exile. When William, Duke of Normandy, went to visit the Anglo-Saxon king, he saw Normans everywhere; it seemed to him that it would be an easy matter to exchange his crown of duke for that of king. But the Saxons forced Edward to send away his dangerous friend from across the channel, and the Englishman Harold resumed all his influence at court and throughout the country.

We are told that Harold, being shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy, was forced by William to swear that he would support the latter's claim to the English throne.

Harold's return was followed by the death of Edward. The Witenagemot, or great national council, bestowed the crown upon him. William immediately sent to remind him of his promise. Harold replied that having been extorted from him by force it was of no value, and that, besides, the bestowal of the crown belonged to the English people. William treated him as a usurper, as a sacrilegious person, and appealed to the court of Rome. Hildebrand caused Harold to be excommunicated, and the crown of England to be given to William. The duke then published his ban of war. A crowd of adventurers hastened to join him, and an army of 60,000 men set out in September, 1066. They disembarked at Pevensey, in the county of Sussex. Harold, who had just repelled a Norwegian invasion on the coasts of Yorkshire, came up with all haste; but he was conquered and killed at the battle of Hastings (1066), after having fought valiantly. The English nationality succumbed. William divided the country among all those who had followed him, keeping the best part for himself.

French customs, French civilization, the French language, and French feudal institutions were planted in England. But France paid dearly for this conquest made by her arms, her manners, and her idiom. The dukes of Normandy, on becoming kings of England, possessed a power which long held the French kings in check.

Conquest of Portugal by a French Prince (1095). — The infidels were in Sicily and at Jerusalem; they were still nearer and more threatening in Spain. A great number of knights crossed the mountains and assisted Spain to drive the Arabs down into Andalusia. Among them came, towards the end of the eleventh century, two princes, Raymond, Count of Toulouse, and Henry, fourth son of the Duke of Burgundy. In reward for their services, the king of Castile gave them his two daughters in marriage, and Henry received a territory which extended from the Minho to the Mondego (1095). He undertook to enlarge his small domain at the expense of the infidels. He gained seventeen victories over them, and gloriously established the independence of Portugal, over which his descendants have reigned until the present day.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

(1095-1099 A.D.)

Peter the Hermit and the Council of Clermont. — Jerusalem had just fallen into the hands of a horde of savage Turks, and instead of the tolerance which the caliphs of Bagdad and Cairo had shown towards the pilgrims, the latter were now loaded with outrages. Peter the Hermit made France resound with the recital of these calamities, and the people everywhere, seized with a pious enthusiasm, took up arms for the purpose of delivering the tomb of Christ from the infidels. The council of Clermont assembled in 1095, under the presidency of the French Pope. Urban II. preached the crusade. The number of those who, in that and the following year, affixed to their breasts the cross of red cloth, the symbol of their engagement in this holy enterprise, amounted to more than a million.

Departure of the First Crusaders (1096). — Men came from the most remote countries. The poor, the most eager, confiding in God alone, were the first to set out, with the cry of "God wills it!" without preparations, almost without arms. Women, children, old men, accompanied their husbands, their fathers, and their sons. A van-guard of 15,000 ill-armed men led the way, under the command of a poor Norman knight, Walter the Penniless. Peter the Hermit followed with 100,000 men. A third troop brought up the rear. They passed through Germany, slaying the Jews whom they met in the way, pillaging everywhere in order to procure food, and accustoming themselves to violence. In Hungary their disorderliness was such that the people took up arms and drove the crusaders into Thrace, after having killed a large number of them. Only a small part of them reached Constantinople. The Emperor Alexis, in order to get rid of such auxiliaries, hastened to send them into Asia. They all fell by the sabre of the Turks, in the plain of Nicaea.

Departure of the Second Army of the Crusaders (1096). — Meanwhile the nobles were taking up arms and organizing, and set out at last, with an army numbering, it is said, 100,000 knights and 600,000 infantry, on different routes and under different chieftains. The French of the North and the Lorrainers went by way of Germany and Hungary, under command of Godfrey, Duke of Bouillon and lower Lorraine, the bravest, the strongest, the most pious of the crusaders, and his two brothers. The French of the South, with the rich and powerful Count of Toulouse, crossed the Alps, and marching through Dalmatia and Slavonia, reached Thrace. The Duke of Normandy, the counts of Blois, Flanders and Vermandois, joined the Normans of Italy, Bohemond, Prince of Tarento, and his cousin Tancred, next to Godfrey the most perfect knight of his time: and all together crossed the Adriatic and passed through Greece and Macedonia.

The Crusaders at Constantinople and in Asia Minor (1097). — The general rendezvous was at Constantinople. The Emperor trembled lest they should wish to begin their crusade there by seizing upon the great city. Some of them, indeed, thought of doing so, but Godfrey of Bouillon opposed it. Alexis, however, was not reassured until he had sent into Asia the last one of these warriors.

On the point of taking Nicaea they were defrauded of it by the Greeks. In crossing Asia Minor, they endured frightful sufferings. The light Turkish squadrons of the sultan of Iconium circled around them constantly, harassing them and cutting off the stragglers. When the sultan believed them to be sufficiently weakened and discouraged, he came with an immense body of cavalry, to give them battle in the plain of Dorylaeum in Phrygia. The action was for some time uncertain, when the arrival of Godfrey of Bouillon and a large corps of cavalry forced the Turks to flee.

The Crusaders at Antioch (1098). — After enduring still further sufferings they arrived, in October, 1097, before the great city of Antioch, which was defended by a strong wall and a garrison of 20,000 men. The crusaders now numbered not more than 300,000. They remained seven months in front of the place. Finally they were enabled by treachery to scale the walls, and dashed into the city with cries of "God wills it!" Ten thousand persons were killed. The

crusaders compensated themselves for their long privation by excesses which thinned their ranks; and were then in turn besieged in the captured city by an innumerable multitude of Turks. Soon pestilence and famine took possession of the city. A great many of the crusaders, despairing of ever reaching Jerusalem, left the army, to return to Europe. Others, sustained by their courage, remained; their faith saved them. The lance which pierced the side of Christ having been miraculously discovered, the crusaders were filled with enthusiasm; they marched against the Turks and cut their army to pieces.

Capture of Jerusalem (1099). — When after long delays they finally set out from Antioch, there were scarcely more than 50,000 of them left. Enthusiasm increased by degrees as they approached the holy city. Finally they reached the top of the last hill, and Jerusalem appeared before them. Tears streamed from their eyes. They uttered cries of "Jerusalem! Jerusalem! God wills it! God wills it!" stretched out their arms to it, and threw themselves on their knees, kissing the earth.

Jerusalem was defended by the Fatimite caliph of Cairo, who had recently taken it from the Turks. The crusaders suffered still more before these walls. Finally on the 14th of July, 1099, at the break of day, a general assault was made. But it was not until the next day that the crusaders succeeded in taking the city. Tancred and Godfrey were the first to scale the walls. They were still obliged to fight in the streets and force the mosque of Omar, where the Moslems were defending themselves. Blood flowed in torrents. The battle over, the chiefs and all the people, laying aside their arms, changed their clothing, washed their hands, and, with bare feet and singing sacred songs with ardent devotion, went to visit the sacred places.

Foundation of a French Kingdom in Palestine (1099). — In order to ensure the conquest, it was necessary to organize it and give it a head. Godfrey of Bouillon was proclaimed king. He consented only to assume the title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre, refusing "to wear a crown of gold, when the King of kings had worn a crown of thorns." The victory of Ascalon, which he won a short time after, over an Egyptian army, ensured the conquest to the crusaders. But already the Christians were in haste to return to their own firesides; only 300 knights were left

with Godfrey at Jerusalem. Thus left to itself, the little kingdom was organized and constituted according to the principles of feudalism transported into Asia. The laws, language, and manners of France were preserved in it. Its code was the assizes of Jerusalem, in which we find a complete representation of the feudal régime. Fiefs were established; the principalities of Edessa and Antioch, the county of Tripoli and the marquise of Tyre; the lordships of Nablous, Jaffa, Ramla, and Tiberias.

Part taken by France in the Crusades. — This great movement, which continued for a century and a half, and which led away all the people of Europe, emanated from France. The French indeed formed, almost alone, the first crusade. They shared the second (1147) with the Germans, the third (1190) with the English, the fourth (1202) with the Venetians. The fifth (1217) and the sixth (1228) were unimportant. The seventh (1248) and the eighth (1270) were exclusively French. And at the present day in the East, all Christians, no matter what language they speak, are known as Franks.

General Results of the Crusades. — Thus, in the eleventh century the French, like their Celtic ancestors, began a great movement of national expansion. The French went to England and Naples only to seek their fortunes. In Spain and in the East, they fought and died for their faith. The sight of these millions of men, rising and eagerly hastening to the conquest of a tomb, is one of the grandest spectacles ever presented to the world. Very few of them ever returned. The crusaders did not attain their end; Jerusalem, delivered for a moment, fell again into the power of the infidels. But in those countries whence the crusaders departed, and in the minds of those men and their contemporaries, what changes! Previously they had lived apart and as enemies; the crusades diminished isolation and divisions. The crusaders learned to recognize each other as brothers in Jesus Christ; the men of the same country to look upon each other as members of the same family. The French of the North drew near to the French of the South; national fraternity was found on the road to Jerusalem.

At Clermont Urban II. had not preached the crusade for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre alone, but also with a view of putting an end to the curse of private war. The

brief cessation of private wars gave the world a respite and favored the expansion of two new powers, — royalty and the communes, — both of which desired the public peace.

Results of Commerce and Industry. — These great expeditions also opened the way to commerce, which had been closed since the time of the invasions. The East became again accessible to merchants from the West. Industry in its turn was aroused, and this movement, once set on foot, never stopped. Mechanics increased in number, as well as merchants. For the protection of their different industries they formed guilds, and by degrees accumulated much wealth. A new element of strength was thus found; personal property, which henceforth increased as over against real property, elevated the burgesses to an equality with the nobility.

Institution of Military Orders; Armorial Bearings. — The crusades were the cause of some new institutions, especially the military orders of the Hospitallers and the Templars. In these great armies of crusaders, means of recognition were necessary; armorial bearings were invented and multiplied, and since the thirteenth century have descended from father to son. These armorial bearings gave rise to the complicated language and science of heraldry. Family names were also introduced about this period.

Chivalry. — Another product of the age was the institution of chivalry. "From the early age of seven years the future knight was taken out of the hands of women and confided to the care of some valiant baron who set him an example of knightly virtues. Until he was fourteen he accompanied the lord and lady of the castle as page. He followed them to the chase and practised all manner of manly and warlike exercises. These, with the example of some lord who was held up as a model of knighthood, the great exploits of arms and love which were related in the long winter evenings in the hall, and sometimes the troubadour's songs of Charlemagne and Arthur, constituted the moral and intellectual education which the young man received.

"At fifteen he became a squire. The squire accompanied the lord and lady on horseback, served the lord at table, or carried his lance and his various pieces of armor. The ideas of the period ennobled these domestic services. The initiation of the squire was consecrated by religious services.

His physical, military, and moral education was continued by means of violent exercises. Covered with a heavy armor, he leaped ditches and scaled walls, and the legends of chivalry developed more and more in his mind the model of chivalrous courage and virtue. The precepts of the Christian religion were also deeply impressed upon the future knight, and imbued him with its principles. At seventeen the squire often went off on distant expeditions under a vow of accomplishing some feat of prowess before receiving the order of knighthood.

“Finally, when he was twenty-one years old and seemed worthy on account of his bravery to be made a knight, he prepared himself for this initiation by symbolical ceremonies. The bath, a symbol of purity of body and mind, the watching of his arms through the night, the confession, the communion, preceded the reception of the new knight. Dressed in garments of white linen, another symbol of moral purity, he was led to the altar by two tried knights. A priest said mass and blessed the sword. The lord who was to arm the new knight struck him with the blade of the sword, saying to him: ‘I dub thee knight, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.’ He made him swear to consecrate his arms to the defence of the weak and the oppressed; then he embraced him and girded on his sword. The two knights clothed the new knight with the different pieces of armor, and fastened on his gilded spurs, the distinctive sign of the knightly dignity. The ceremony was often ended by a tournament” (Chéruel).

CHAPTER XXI.

THE RURAL CLASSES, THE URBAN POPULATION AND THE COMMUNES.—LOUIS VI.

(1108-1137 A.D.)

Parishes and Village Communities. — The gradual rise of the lower orders next claims attention. In the eighth century, the serfs were still alienable apart from the land. But two centuries later we see them all living in families. Their cabins and the surrounding land have become their heritage. The family spirit led to the spirit of association. When these families of serfs were gathered together in a favorable spot, and the lord was not too harsh, they multiplied and became a village. Finally, perhaps, they built a church, and the bishop formed a new parish. This parish existed at first only as an ecclesiastical division, but it was soon utilized for purposes of administration. The Church bestowed on the rural communities their first organization; a second was given when the intendant of the lord took some of the villeins to serve him as *assessors*, to assist him in judgment. For the majority of the villages things continued in this condition for a long time; but those which had increased so far as to become towns, in which there was property to be guarded against exaction, were animated, in the eleventh century, by new desires. The serfs wished to restrain the rights of their lord over their land and their persons. Communal life grew until, in the thirteenth century, the village communities had definite resources and obligations.

Ancient Cities ; Peasant Insurrections. — The Roman Empire had left on the soil of Gaul a great number of cities which remained, in the midst of the general confusion, centres of industry and commerce. A few of them, particularly in the South, retained their municipal organization, their senates, and even enlarged the jurisdiction of their popularly elected magistrates. Among all of them the

memory of the ancient liberties was preserved; it revived with energy when oppression reached its height.

As early as the year 997 the vills of Normandy, under king Robert, had prepared for a general revolt. Proclaiming the equality of all men, they bound themselves by an oath, and deputies from all the districts united in a general assembly. But the plot was noised about, and the chiefs, surprised by the Count of Évreux and his knights, were atrociously tortured. In 1024 the Breton peasants revolted. The struggle was a desperate one. Many noblemen perished; but the insurrection was drowned in the blood of the peasants.

The Truce of God. — At the end of the eleventh century the Church made a great effort to protect the clergy and the rural population against the violence of the perpetual wars carried on by the lords. In 1095 the council of Clermont, which preached the crusade, decreed at the same time the peace of God. It ordered that churches, cemeteries, oxen, asses, cows, plow-horses, sheep and lambs, provosts and mayors of villages with their households, collectors of tithes, canons, the clergy, monks, and travellers should be allowed a perpetual peace. For other places and other persons there was to be a truce from Wednesday at sunset till Monday at sunrise, also from the first day of Advent to the octave of Epiphany, from the first day of Lent to the octave of Pentecost. The violator of the peace was to be punished by excommunication and by an exile of seven years, and his castle was to be demolished.

The provincial council of Rouen prescribed that all young men from the age of twelve up should swear to maintain the truce, and formed associations for its maintenance. More was accomplished toward bestowing peace upon France where the king imposed his truce, the *quarantaine le roi*. This was better observed than the truce of God. The parishes assisted in the maintenance of it. The burgess communities accompanied the king to siege and battle. The parochial militia followed Louis VI. to the assault upon the dens of robbers. The enclosure of the communes was sometimes designated by the words *confinia pacis*, and the men of the commune as the men of the *peace*.

The Communes. — In the second half of the eleventh century sufficient property had been accumulated in the cities to cause the inhabitants to wish to protect themselves from

feudal rapacity, by causing their right to manage their own affairs, through their own elected magistrates, to be recognized. Some, taking advantage of the necessities of the nobles, who were eager to set out upon the crusade, bought concessions; others obtained them by force; others still, who had preserved since the time of the Romans their local and elective administration, had their privileges increased. An earnest desire for freedom animated all the cities of Northern France. Le Mans (1066), then Cambrai (1076), gave the signal, followed by Noyon, Beauvais, St. Quentin, Laon, Amiens, and Soissons, etc., which all extorted communal charters from their lords, who were for the most part ecclesiastics.

For an instance, the charter of Laon granted to the commune an elective magistracy, composed of a mayor and twelve sworn men, who had the right to assemble the people by the ringing of the bell, to judge crimes committed in the city and the suburbs, and to have their sentences executed. The bishop sold his consent; then swore to respect the privileges of the new commune. The burgesses, in order to have every security, bought also a conformation by Louis VI.

The efforts of the communes failed of permanent success, because they remained isolated, because each city thought only of establishing its own special liberties; and royalty, when in the fourteenth century it became all-powerful, tore up the charters of the communes. But they had been sufficiently numerous to enable a new class to be formed under their protection. When the communes disappeared, the third estate appeared.

Villes de Bourgeoisie. — It was not in the commune alone that the third estate came into existence; it was formed also in the *villes de bourgeoisie*. Settlers gathered around the great walls of the castle. The lord was interested in increasing their number, in order to increase his revenues and even his military forces. Hence he endeavored to attract the peasants by the privileges which he granted on his land. This was the origin of so many cities and towns which bear the name of Villeneuve. He granted in advance and caused to be published far and wide a charter like the following:

"I, Henry, Count of Troyes, make known to all present and to come, that I have established the customs herein announced for the inhabitants of my new town between

the roadways of the bridges of Pugny. Every man living in the aforesaid town shall pay each year twelve pence and two bushels of hay for the price of his house; and if he wishes to have a portion of land or of meadow he shall give a rent of fourpence an acre. The houses, vineyards, and meadows shall be vendible or alienable at the will of the purchaser. (Thus the villein became a proprietor.) The men residing in the aforesaid town shall neither join the army nor go upon any expedition unless I am at their head. I grant them, besides, the right to have six *échevins*, who shall administer the common affairs of the city, and assist my provost in his pleas. I forbid any lord, knight, or other person, to carry away from the town any of the new inhabitants, for any reason whatever, unless the latter be his body servant or owe him arrears of taxes. Given at Provins, in the year of the Incarnation 1175."

Ancient cities also obtained similar privileges to those of the new towns, by remaining, likewise, in subjection to the provost of the lord or of the king. This occurred principally in the royal domain. In this category are Orleans and Paris, which in spite of their antiquity appear not to have preserved the Roman municipal régime, but to have received all their franchises from the Middle Ages and the kings. The difference between the communes and the *villes de bourgeoisie* is, that the former had the right to administer justice and the latter had not. In the latter the provost of the lord or the king retained the jurisdiction. For instance, Orleans and Paris were never communes, but their inhabitants had securities for person and property, and privileges for commerce, and these advantages sufficed to attract to the *villes de bourgeoisie* a numerous population.

Individual Enfranchisements. — The condition of the serf was very painful. Nevertheless, custom accorded him the right to dispose of his *peculium*, which gave him, in a sense, some rights of property. Serfs had no real rights over the land they acquired; they could not alienate it without the consent of the lord. If they had no direct heirs, the lord inherited it; he deducted in every case of succession a certain portion, the *mortuarium*; but direct heirs shared the heritage of their fathers, in equal parts.

This *peculium*, or money of his own, the serf employed in purchasing certain rights, the loss of which bore hard upon him, as for instance the right to take a wife outside of the

lordship. He used it also to purchase his freedom. It appears that the enfranchisements were begun first by the Church. She had first defended the life of the serf against the violence of his lord, and also the indissolubility of his marriage. She uttered severe denunciations against the oppression of unjust masters. Abbot Suger, who had himself sprung from this oppressed class, freed the serfs of St. Denis, and Louis VI., whose minister he was, followed his example.

Extent of the Royal Domain at the Accession of Louis VI.

—The royal domain had greatly diminished since the times of Hugh Capet. Philip I. possessed at his death only the counties of Paris, Melun, Étampes, Orleans, and Sens; nor did he possess a clear passage from one of these cities to the other. On all sides the domains of powerful barons came close to Paris. In the North the king still had, as Duke of France, powerful vassals in the counts of Ponthieu, Amiens, Soissons, Clermont, Beauvaisis, Valois and Vermandois. South of the Loire, the king had just bought the viscounty of Bourges, and the other lords of Berry, the prince of Déols and the sire of Bourbon, did direct homage to him.

Grand Vassals of the Crown. — Around the royal domain extended vast feudal principalities, the possessors of which rivalled the king in wealth and power. In the North there was the Count of Flanders; in the West the Duke of Normandy and the Duke of Brittany; in the Southwest the Count of Anjou; in the East the Count of Champagne; and in the Southeast the Duke of Burgundy. Farther away, to the south of the Loire, were the dukes of Aquitaine and Gascony, and the counts of Toulouse and Barcelona with their innumerable vassals. The clergy also occupied an important place in the feudal hierarchy. Its heads were dukes, counts, and lords, having all the regal rights exercised by other suzerains, so that with the exception of five or six cities possessed by the king, the whole of France belonged to lords, either lay or ecclesiastical, great or small. But this royalty, though so feeble, had on its side those memories of power, justice, national unity, and public order which were associated with its title; and when a brave and active prince should succeed to it, he would be able to cause his rights to be recognized.

Activity of Louis VI. — While the French nation was

crossing all its borders at once to conquer England, Naples, and Jerusalem, and to found a kingdom in Spain, the indolent Philip I. slept upon his throne. The people began to be irritated by this inertia of the Capetians. "It is the duty of kings," said Suger, "to repress, by their power and the innate right of their office, the audacity of the nobles who rend the State by ceaseless wars, desolate the poor and destroy the churches." Louis VI. was the sort of king demanded by Suger. Always on horseback, lance in hand, he constantly fought against the nobles who plundered travellers, or pillaged the property of the churches, and succeeded in restoring some degree of order and security in his narrow domain of the Île-de-France. All the weak, all the oppressed, gathered around the protecting standard which he raised. The clergy put their soldiery at his service. He obtained fresh allies by intervening in the communal revolution.

His Intervention in the Communal Revolution. — The communes were first established in the episcopal or abbatial cities of the North of France. Louis VI., however, played a part in this revolution. Himself engaged in a contest with the same enemy, he purposely aided this insurrection which secured allies for him in the very midst of those whom he was fighting. He confirmed eight charters of communes; that is, he granted the royal sanction and guaranty to the treaties of peace concluded between the rebel subjects and their lords, which secured the concessions obtained by the subjects. This wise policy immediately gave great power to the king, because the communes henceforth regarded him as their patron. From that time, in fact, may be dated the intense enthusiasm of the French people for their king. Yet though Louis the Fat favored the establishment of communes on the estates of the lords, he did not allow a single one on his own domains.

But often when, in his own struggles against the robber barons, the warriors and the knights abandoned him, the militia of the churches and the communes flocked to his support. His efforts to protect the weak and discipline feudal society were rewarded. In his war against Henry I., king of England, the communal militia rallied around his banner, and at the report of a proposed attack by the Emperor of Germany, a numerous army of burgesses and vassals held itself in readiness to defend him.

Relations with Henry I., King of England. — In the war against Henry I., Louis had proposed to assure Normandy to William Clito, a nephew of the English king. This was a wise project, the success of which would have averted a danger which constantly threatened the crown of France, so long as England was united to the duchy of Normandy; but Louis was defeated at Brenneville (1119). The English king, however, fighting his suzerain, dared not carry the war to extremes, not wishing to set an example of rebellion of vassal against lord.

A few days after, a terrible affliction befell King Henry. He embarked at Honfleur, to return to England. His only son, and a brilliant retinue of youthful nobility, followed him in the ill-fated White Ship. In the channel the White Ship struck upon a rock, and sank with all on board save one man.

Union of Normandy, England, and Anjou. — This misfortune was fatal also to France. Henry had remaining only one daughter, Matilda; he declared her his heiress. Matilda was the widow of the Emperor Henry V. In 1127 she was married a second time to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. Hitherto the kings of France had been able to rely upon the support of Anjou against Normandy. The marriage of Matilda put an end to that policy, and extended the Anglo-Norman domination to the Loire. Another union, that of Henry, son of Matilda, with Eleanor of Guienne, carried it to the Pyrenees.

Murder of the Count of Flanders (1127). — Flanders was already covered with busy cities, and her burgesses, numerous and proud, held in light esteem the social distinctions which elsewhere were of so much importance. Many serfs had crept into their ranks and had acquired wealth and power. In 1127 the most prominent personage in the province, next to the count, was a serf, Berthold, provost of the chapter of St. Donatian at Bruges. But Count Charles the Good, a pious man, beloved by the poor, but attached to the old order of things, caused an examination to be made throughout his county, to ascertain the condition of all persons, in order to remand to servitude all those who had not been legally set free. The provost and all his followers, thus directly threatened, conspired to assassinate the count, and slew him in the church of St. Donatian. This murder caused a great commotion. All the chivalry of the country

took up arms against the traitors, who, besieged in the castle of Bruges, and afterwards in the very church where the murder was committed, defended themselves with desperation. King Louis, the count's suzerain, himself came to attack them there and compelled them to surrender. The ringleaders were put to death with frightful tortures. But the friends and relatives of the provost aroused Ghent, Lille, Furnes and Alost, and the influence of Louis VI. in Flanders proved but short-lived.

Influence of Louis VI. in the South. — Louis succeeded better in the South. His influence and even his authority were felt there. The bishop of Clermont, being at war with the Count of Auvergne, sought the aid of the king, who crossed the Loire with a numerous army, and pushed the war so vigorously that the Duke of Aquitaine came himself to ask pardon for his vassal (1126). Two lords contended for the Bourbonnais. Louis decided the question between them, and one of them refusing to accept his decision, he by force of arms compelled him to accept it. Thus the king, as a reward for having made himself "a great justice of the peace" in times of trouble and violence, saw the authority which had been lost return to him little by little.

Three Popes in France. — The quarrel concerning Investitures, or the rivalry between the Holy See and the Empire, begun with Gregory VII., had not ended, and the Popes, driven from Rome by the arms and intrigues of the Emperor, sought refuge and assistance in France. Gelasius II. was elected then, and in 1119 assembled at Rheims, for the purpose of ending this great debate, a council by which canons were promulgated against simoniacs, and the marriage of the clergy again forbidden, the truce of God confirmed, and the licentious lives of several princes condemned. Three years after, the negotiations commenced by Calixtus II. at Rheims with the Emperor ended in the concordat of Worms, the first of those difficult treaties of peace which have regulated the relations between the temporal and the spiritual power.

In 1130 Innocent II., forced to leave Rome to a rival Pope, took refuge in France. Louis the Fat assembled at Étampes a council which examined into the pretensions of the two rivals, and, on the proposition of Bernard, declared for Innocent II. France thus became the asylum of pontiffs, and the place where the great affairs of the Church

were discussed. Royalty necessarily gained importance by thus playing the part of protector of the Popes.

Abelard. — The disputes between the *realists* and the *nominalists*, which divided the schoolmen throughout the Middle Ages, did much to awaken thought. William of Champeaux expounded the realistic doctrine with great brilliancy. But he was eclipsed by one of his disciples, Abelard, born in 1079, near Nantes; a noble and handsome young man, full of genius and extraordinarily popular. But the greatest man in the Church in those days, and one of the great doctors of all time, St. Bernard, thought he saw heresy in the writings of the brilliant professor. The council of Soissons ordered his book on the Trinity to be burned (1122); and the council of Sens again condemned him in 1140. Abelard died two years after, a monk at Cluny. His eloquence, his contest with Bernard, rendered him celebrated during his lifetime. His misfortunes and the love of Heloise have perpetuated his memory.

CHAPTER XXII.

LOUIS VII., THE YOUNG.

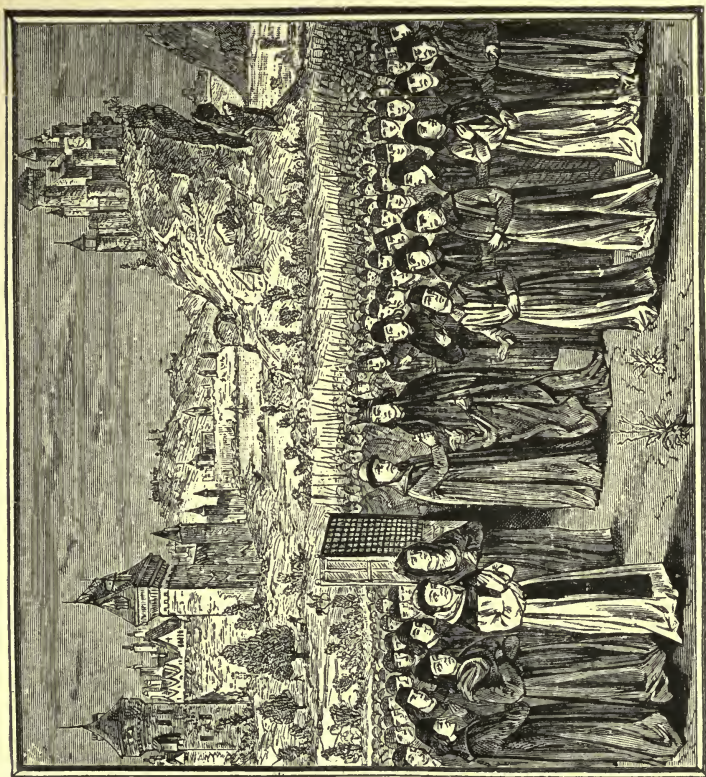
(1137-1180 A.D.)

Louis VII. (1137-1180); **his Marriage.**—Louis the Fat left six sons. The eldest, Louis VII., called the Young, had contracted, before the death of his father, a brilliant marriage. He had married Eleanor of Guienne, heiress of Poitou and the duchy of Aquitaine. The inheritance of fiefs by women was one of the most active causes of the ruin of the feudal families. Women, by marriage, carried the fiefs from one house to another, till the greater part of them were added to that of France, which lasted while others became extinct. The dower of Eleanor was the most important one yet received by any of the French kings. It was nothing less than the half of Southern France. Unhappily Louis VII. did not retain it.

Continuation of the Policy of Louis the Fat (1137-1147).

—Louis the Young carried out the policy of his father. A communal insurrection at Poitiers was quelled. Several lords were deprived of their fiefs on account of their violent acts. A war against the Count of Champagne had even more important results. The Pope had appointed his own nephew archbishop of Bourges, without regard to the royal right of presentation. Louis drove the new prelate from his see and the Count of Champagne granted him an asylum. The king seized the opportunity to humiliate his refractory vassal. He entered his domains, ravaged them, and burned the small city of Vitry. Thirteen hundred persons who had taken refuge in the church perished in the flames.

The Second Crusade (1147).—Such an event was not unusual, but it weighed heavily upon the king's conscience, and to expiate it Louis assumed the cross. His father had owed his success partly to the fact that the richest lords had exhausted their resources in order to go to Jerusalem, and many of them had never returned. It was a mistake



ST. BERNARD PREACHING THE CRUSADE.
From Mss. in the National Library.

to renounce this system. But the Emperor of Germany proposed to go this time, and the king of France could not remain behind and abandon the kingdom of Jerusalem which had been established by the French, and which was now on the brink of ruin. The Atabeks of Aleppo had just taken Edessa, and Nouredin threatened Palestine. In spite of the prudent counsels of abbot Suger, Louis resolved to place himself at the head of a second expedition to the Holy Land. The crusade was preached in France and Germany by St. Bernard, but the zeal of the people had already grown cool.

Louis, however, set out from France and marched by way of Metz and Germany towards Constantinople. The Emperor Manuel sent his deputies a great distance to meet the crusaders, desiring that they should take an oath of fidelity to him, to which they again consented. The Germans were already in the midst of Asia Minor. But, betrayed by their Greek guides, they wandered about in the defiles of the Taurus, and fell by the sword of the Turks. The Emperor Conrad returned almost alone to Constantinople.

Louis, warned of the danger, took the route by the sea-shore, and at first gained there the victory of the Maeander. But as soon as they entered the mountains, the unskilfulness of the commanders and the want of discipline among the soldiers brought about severe disasters. At Satalieh it was thought impossible to go any farther. The king and the nobles embarked in certain Greek vessels, in order to finish their pilgrimage by sea, abandoning the vast multitude of the pilgrims, who were either killed by the arrows of the Turks, or, to escape death, became Moslems.

Having reached Antioch, Louis thought no more of battles, but of accomplishing his pilgrim's vow, praying at the Holy Sepulchre, and ending as quickly as possible this unfortunate enterprise. He hastened to Jerusalem. It was necessary however to do something, and to draw the sword at least once in Palestine. An attack on Damascus was first proposed. The attack at first seemed to be successful, but disputes and dissensions arising between the Christian princes, the Moslems had time to be reinforced. The siege had to be raised. Few of those who left Europe ever returned. The first crusade had at least accomplished its aim, it had delivered Jerusalem; the second had shed

Christian blood without result. After it, Palestine found itself weaker, Islam stronger, and the crusaders earned by their undertaking only shame and dishonor.

Divorce of Louis VII. (1152) ; its Consequences. — On his return, the king found his States in peace, thanks to the wise administration of Suger ; but he divorced his wife Eleanor, with whom he had become displeased during the crusade, to which she had followed him. The princess, by another marriage, soon carried her duchy of Guienne to Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy, and heir to the crown of England (1152). When, two years later, Henry came into possession of his heritage, and when he had added Brittany to it by the marriage of one of his sons to the only daughter of the count of that country, he found himself master of almost the whole of Western France.

The king of France had cause to tremble for his crown, but Henry II. hesitated to attack his suzerain, lest the example should affect his own vassals. Louis found further means of defending himself by sustaining the continual revolts of the four sons of Henry II. against their father. The assassination of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, also deeply injured Henry's cause, and he passed his last days in fighting against his subjects, his sons, and the king of France.

Administration of Louis VII. ; Suger. — Louis VII., though by no means an active and resolute king, seconded the communal movement. His efforts to maintain order by means of his *provosts* favored the progress of the urban population. Under him, says a chronicler, a great number of towns were built, and a great many old ones enlarged. Forests were cut down, and vast tracts of land were brought under cultivation. He also confirmed the ancient privileges of the Hanse, or society of merchants in Paris.

Suger, a man of humble parentage, deservedly won by his sense of right, by his activity of mind, by his devotion to the interests of the king and the kingdom, the friendship of Louis VI., and the confidence of Louis VII. Elected abbot of St. Denis, he renounced the magnificence with which prelates then surrounded themselves, and employed all his resources in decorating the interior of the church and in rebuilding parts of it. Louis VII. appointed him administrator of the kingdom during his crusade. He showed the

same modesty in that position, and by his skilfulness in the management of affairs restored order to the finances and peace to the kingdom. It is true that the departure of so many turbulent lords rendered his task easy. Though hardly to be compared with Sully, Richelieu or Colbert, he at least possessed in common with them a sense of the duties of royalty and the need of order. His position as abbot of St. Denis won to his side the episcopate, which sustained him with all its power, and that support was singularly favorable to royalty.

SIXTH PERIOD.

FIRST VICTORY OF ROYALTY OVER THE FEUDAL ARISTOCRACY (1180-1328).

CHAPTER XXIII.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS AND LOUIS VIII.

(1180-1223 A.D.)

Elements of Strength possessed by French Royalty.— From the ninth to the twelfth centuries, public powers had become domanial powers, exercised by the great landholders. This aristocratic revolution, which had broken up the unity of the country, was succeeded by a monarchical revolution. The king was to become the sole judge, sole administrator, and sole legislator of the country. This revolution, begun by Philip Augustus and St. Louis, who reconstituted a central government, was not destined to be completely accomplished till the advent of Louis XIV., because the Hundred Years' War in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the religious wars in the sixteenth, suspended this great internal work.

Social transformations are prepared by latent energies which are gradually set in motion and direct events. When Capetian royalty appeared weakest, it was silently guarding elements of power which time would call into action. As nominal head of the feudal society, the king had a great title; he was the suzerain, and the great vassals owed him homage and military service. Legally, the king was the supreme justice of the kingdom; the vassals were amenable to the king's court. This court was both a great deliberative council and a court of justice. When the great vassals con-

tended with each other, was not the arbiter necessarily their common sovereign? They had, however, the right to require the presence of their equals or peers in the tribunal. In such cases the court of the king became the court of peers. Besides, the suzerain inherited by right when the fief fell into escheat; in case of minority, he had the care of the fief.

The suzerain, proprietor of a fief, had the right to require that without his consent no changes should be made in it which could in any way diminish its value. If a vassal granted any privileges in his fief, he was obliged to have them confirmed by his suzerain. Philip Augustus knew how to make use of these prerogatives, which until his time had been almost valueless.

Philip Augustus (1180-1223); Acquisitions.—Philip ascended the throne at the age of fifteen. His relatives and vassals thought they would be able to do as they pleased with such a child. He surprised them by his activity and resolution. The result of the wars which he was compelled to sustain, was the acquisition of the counties of Amiens, Vermandois, and Valois. Artois, which fell to him in 1191, through his wife, Isabella of Hainault, extended the domains of the crown as far as the frontiers of Flanders. Philip repressed feudal disorder, banished the Jews, seizing most of their property, and had a number of heretics burned. Lastly, the insurrection of the *cotereaux*, bands of robbers who ravaged the central portion of France, was quelled by royal troops assisted by the inhabitants of the communes.

Third Crusade (1190-1191).—Jerusalem had fallen, in 1187, into the hands of the infidels. Its last king had been made prisoner by Saladin at the battle of Tiberias. Christendom made a powerful effort; Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, and Philip Augustus set out together. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa had preceded them. They did not go farther than Acre, which was recaptured. During the long siege misunderstandings arose between the two kings. Philip, eclipsed by his brilliant rival, hastened to return to France so as to be able to work the ruin of the too powerful house of England. He had a secret understanding with John, the brother whom Richard had left in charge of his kingdom. But Richard, returning, made war on Philip Augustus and defeated him, yet without gaining anything by the victory. Pope Innocent III. interposed and

induced them to sign a truce for five years (1199). Two months after, Richard was killed while attacking a castle in the Limousin.

Condemnation of John Lackland; Acquisition of Several Provinces (1204). — Richard was succeeded by his brother (1199). The king of France immediately became the enemy of his former ally and took, against him, the part of John's nephew Arthur, whom John is supposed to have stabbed with his own hand. Philip had before this summoned John to appear before the twelve grand vassals of the crown or peers of the kingdom. On his refusal he confiscated his fiefs, entered with an army into Normandy, which John had left defenceless, and following up his victories, took possession of all the cities of the province, even Rouen. Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou were also easily united to the royal domain. These were the most brilliant conquests that a king of France had ever yet made.

Victory of Bouvines (1214). — Coward though he was, John could not submit to such humiliation. He formed a vast coalition. While he himself was attacking France on the southwest, the Emperor of Germany, Otto IV., the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, with all the princes of the Low Countries, were to attack the northern portion. But France aroused herself to repel the foreign invasion. Louis, the king's son, went to confront the English king in Poitou; and Philip, with his knights and the militia of the northern communes, marched against the enemy, whom they met near the bridge of Bouvines, between Lille and Tournai. The hostile chiefs, surrounded by a force estimated at 100,000 men, were confident of victory.

The two armies remained for some time at a distance from each other without daring to begin the battle, and the French were retiring by way of the bridge of Bouvines for the purpose of marching upon Hainault, when the enemy, attacking their rear guard, compelled them to turn about. When the battle began, the communal militia was already beyond Bouvines; they hastily recrossed the bridge and came to the centre in front of the king and his battalions. The German knights, and among them the Emperor Otto, charged these brave men, and cut through them in order to reach the king; but the most renowned warriors of France threw themselves before them and stopped them. During this fray, the German foot-soldiers came up behind

their cavalry, and reached the spot where Philip was. They dragged him from his horse, and while he was down, tried to pierce his visor or some joint of his armor. Certain knights and men of the communes hastened to his assistance. They delivered the king, placed him on a charger, and he again rushed into the fight. The Emperor also narrowly escaped being taken, but was finally rescued.

On the right, the Count of Flanders fell wounded into the hands of the French; in the centre, the Emperor with his German princes fled; but on the left, the Count of Boulogne and the English held the field. At sight of this, the warlike bishop of Beauvais attacked them vigorously, and soon the English were entirely routed. The Count of Boulogne, after a brave resistance, was captured; five other counts and twenty-five bannerets were already captives.

The king's return to Paris was a triumphal march. Thanksgiving services were held in all the churches as he passed along, and the chants of the clergy were heard mingled with the bells and the harmonious sounds of martial music. The houses were hung with curtains and tapestries; the roads were strewn with green branches and fresh flowers. All the people, men and women, old men and children, came in crowds to the cross-roads. At Paris the burgesses and a great number of clergy, scholars, and other people, went to meet the king, singing hymns and canticles. They kept up unprecedented festivities, which went on by night as well as by day. During these rejoicings, the communal militia, which had conducted itself so bravely during the fight, came with great pomp to deliver their prisoners to the provost of Paris. One hundred and ten knights had fallen into their hands, to say nothing of common soldiers. The king gave them a part of these to be held for ransom, and imprisoned the rest.

Philip did not, by this great victory, acquire any additional territory. But he had repelled a formidable invasion, caused an emperor and a king to fly before him, frustrated the evil designs of several great vassals, and, best of all, given to the Capetian dynasty a prestige which until then it had not enjoyed, and revealed to France her own power. The victory gave a great impetus to the national spirit and to patriotism, — a feeble sentiment still, and one which was destined more than once to seem extinguished, but only to reappear with victorious energy.

Fourth Crusade (1202-1204).—The nobility manifested its warlike activity under this reign by two enterprises: the fourth crusade, which changed the Greek Empire into a French Empire, and the war against the Albigenses, which once more attached to France the people of the South. Philip took no part in either. He left the nobles to expend their resources and their turbulence in these enterprises which were doubly profitable to France, by the order which he was thus enabled to establish in the kingdom, and by the lustre which was shed on her name abroad.

Since the failure of the third crusade, Jerusalem had been forgotten. The great Pope, Innocent III., wished to call the attention of Christendom to it; he therefore preached a crusade promising remission of sins to all those who would serve God for one year. Fulk, curé of Neuilly-sur-Marne, was the preacher of this crusade, and persuaded many to take the cross. Again the kings held aloof, and the people also. It was determined to take the route by sea, and deputies were sent to Venice to hire ships (1201). The republic made the necessary agreement with them, on condition that they should aid it in taking Zara in Dalmatia, to which they consented (1202). Next, the Venetians persuaded their allies that the keys of Jerusalem were at Cairo or at Constantinople. There was some truth in this idea, but there was still more of commercial interest. The possession of Cairo opened the route to India to the Venetian merchants; that of Constantinople assured them of the commerce of the Black Sea and the whole of the Archipelago. It was decided to go by way of Constantinople, whither a young Greek prince, Alexis, offered to conduct them, on condition that they should re-establish on the throne his father, Isaac Angelos, who had been deposed (1203).

The disembarkation of the French was but feebly opposed, and in July, 1203, the city was carried by assault. The old Emperor, taken from his prison, was re-established on the throne. Alexis had made the most extravagant promises to the crusaders. In order to fulfil them, he levied new taxes and exasperated his subjects to such a degree that they slew their Emperor and created another, named Mourzoufle, and closed the gates of the city. The crusaders immediately attacked it. In three days they again took possession of it (March, 1204); this time they sacked it.

Constantinople captured, they divided the Empire among

themselves. Baldwin IV., Count of Flanders, was elected Emperor; other lords and princes, king of Macedonia, prince of Achaia, dukes of Athens and Naxos, count of Cephalonia, lords of Thebes and Corinth. Venice retained one-quarter of Constantinople with all the ports of the Empire and all the islands. A new France with its feudal customs arose at the extremity of Europe. But the crusaders were too few in number to be able to keep their conquest long, and in 1261 the Latin Empire fell to pieces, though some of its feudal principalities remained.

The Albigenes. — Meanwhile the attention of France was strongly excited by the presence of heresy in its Southern provinces. Peter de Brueys, Henry the Deacon, and Peter Waldo rejected the baptism of infants, the sacrifice of the mass, the adoration of the cross, the traffic in indulgences, etc. They admitted no authority in religious matters but the Bible, and wished to return to the Christianity of the Gospels. In the South of France, in the midst of a people made up of so many races, this return of the religious spirit to the old paths also again brought up the Gnostic doctrines which had troubled the Church so much during the first centuries. The Roman ecclesiastics were treated with scorn; missionaries were sent everywhere; the offensive doctrines began to make their appearance in Flanders, in Germany, in England, and even in Italy.

Among these rich and splendid cities of the South, the chief was Toulouse, whose count was Raymond VI., one of the greatest lords of the South. The other powers were the house of Barcelona and Aragon, which possessed, in France, Roussillon and Provence, and the lesser lords of the Pyrenees, proud, independent, and adventurous. The South of France, indeed, had long been separated from the North. It had another language and other customs. Commerce had there diffused ease among the citizens, luxury among the lords. But in these rich cities, in these brilliant courts enlivened by the songs of the troubadours, religious doctrines were as lightly treated as manners and morals.

The Albigenian Crusade (1208). — The all-powerful Innocent III. resolved to crush out this nest of impiety. He first organized against the sectarians the famous Inquisition, a tribunal for the purpose of examining and judging heretics by means of torture, and sent to Raymond VI. his legate, Peter of Castelnau, who required the expulsion of the

heretics. But the heretics composed almost the whole of the inhabitants. Peter accomplished nothing. Raymond was excommunicated and threatened by the legate. One of his knights followed the latter and slew him. The Pope proclaimed a crusade against the Count of Toulouse. Many French lords and bishops hastened to the quarry, and three armies invaded the South; Simon de Montfort, an ambitious, fanatical, and cruel man, was their commander.

They first attacked the viscount of Béziers. That city was taken. The conquerors hesitated to slay, not being able to distinguish the heretics: "Kill them all," said one of the chiefs; "God will know his own." Thirty thousand perished. Carcassonne fell also. Raymond hoped to be spared, but the papal legates offered pardon to the Count of Toulouse only on condition that he should dismiss his soldiers, pull down his castles, and go off to the Holy Land. The count scorned such propositions and the attack was renewed under Simon de Montfort. Raymond, conquered at Castelnaudary, fled to Aragon, and the conquerors divided his territory among them. In order to put a stop to this invasion of the South by the men of the North, the king of Aragon, Pedro II., crossed the mountains with a large force; but the battle of Muret, in which he was killed, decided the fate of Languedoc (1213). The Lateran Council, two years later, ratified the deposition of Raymond and the greater part of the lords of the country. The legate of the Holy See gave their fiefs to Simon de Montfort. The civilization of the South, crushed out by these harsh measures, perished.

In their misery, the people of Languedoc appealed to the king of France. Montpellier gave herself to him. After the death of Simon de Montfort, who was killed before Toulouse, of which the son of Count Raymond had resumed possession, the heir of De Montfort, Amaury, offered to cede to the king the acquisitions made by his father, which he could no longer defend against the universal reprobation of his subjects. This offer was accepted later.

Expedition to England (1216).—After the defeat of the allies at Bouvines, the nobles and commons, clergy and laity of England, uniting, compelled king John to sign the Great Charter of English liberties (1215). John, supported by the Pope, soon after began war against the barons. The

latter called to their assistance Louis, the son of Philip Augustus. In 1216 he landed in England, in spite of an excommunication from the Pope, and was likely to have succeeded but for the death of king John, who left as his successor an infant son, Henry III. The barons perceived that this infant king was better for them than a foreign prince. Louis was therefore gradually abandoned, and obliged to return to France (1217).

Relations of Philip with the Court of Rome. — Philip's second wife was Ingeborg of Denmark, whom he married in 1193, and divorced the day after their marriage. He soon after married Agnes of Meran. Ingeborg appealed to the Pope, who took her cause in hand, and, on Philip's refusing to abandon Agnes, placed the kingdom under an interdict. The services ceased in all the churches; the people were without prayers. In the end the king was obliged to yield. He sent away Agnes of Meran, who died of grief, and took Ingeborg back in 1213. On the other hand, in 1203, when Philip invaded the fiefs which John had lost by his felony, and Innocent III. threatened him with the anathemas of the Church if he proceeded, Philip compelled his great vassals to give him a written pledge to sustain him against all persons, even against the lord Pope, and continued his expedition.

Louis VIII. (1223–1226). — Philip Augustus died in July, 1223, at the age of fifty-nine. The reign of his son was only a continuation of his own. From the English he conquered what Philip Augustus had not taken of Poitou, Aunis, Rochelle, Limoges, Périgueux; in Languedoc, he acquired Avignon by siege. The country from the Rhone to within four leagues of Toulouse submitted to him. Thus the whole South, west of the Rhone, with the exception of Guienne and Toulouse, recognized the royal authority; the work of territorial unity was advancing. Louis VIII. died on his return from this expedition, at the age of thirty-nine.

The Government of Philip Augustus. — Philip Augustus had reigned gloriously for forty-three years. He had doubled the royal domain by the acquisition of Vermandois, Amiénois, Artois, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, and a part of Auvergne. He had given to royalty the strength which it needed in order to enforce its rights. Some powerful feudatories still remained. The king ruled directly only in his own domain; but he in fact governed

all France. Beginning with his reign we find general ordinances, which were to be in force throughout the kingdom. Of the great court officers, with functions half domestic, half political, as those of the butler, the constable, the chamberlain, the seneschal, etc., Philip Augustus discontinued the last in 1191. The king's court remained what it was under the first Capetians, but its importance had increased with that of royalty. A judgment rendered by this court could dispossess of his fiefs the most powerful vassal of the king of France.

Philip carefully avoided enfeoffing the new lands acquired by the crown. He divided his domain into *bailliages* and provostships. The provost administered justice, made military levies, and collected at his own risk the taxes of his district, which he had at farm. Each *bailliage* contained several provostships supervised by the *bailli*, who also, each month, heard appeals from the provosts' divisions. The king's court, in its turn, judged the appeals against the *bailli*. Four times a year the royal assizes, to which these officers were summoned to give the king an account of the affairs of their bailiwicks, were held at Paris. They also carried to him, three times a year, the revenues of his domain. The accounts were received by six burgesses and a clerk who kept the registers. The great lords were purposely kept out of administrative offices.

Philip set himself boldly against feudal traditions. When he acquired Amiénois, he owed homage for this fief to the bishop of Amiens. He refused it, saying that the king of France ought not to be a vassal of any one. He attacked feudalism in one of its most cherished rights, the right of private war. To prevent the relatives of one of the two adversaries, ignorant of the injury done, being attacked without warning, Philip ordered that such persons should have forty days' truce and due notice. Besides, from the necessity of escaping such continual violences, a custom originated of which Philip made use, and which was of special service to royalty. One of the two parties could claim the *asseurement* of his suzerain; that is to say, his guaranty against all attacks. The suzerain commanded the other party to appear before him, offered him also the *asseurement*, and, if he refused it, imposed it upon him. Violations of such truce and *asseurement* were subject to severe penalties.

But an army was necessary in order to enforce them.

The feudal array was a very irregular army, difficult to get together, and still more difficult to conduct. The rule was that the vassal owed the suzerain forty days' service for a full fief, but one claimed to be obliged to serve only within the limits of a certain territory; another, to go to the army for only a certain number of days. When the question arose at whose expense the knight should serve, or by how many men the vassal should be followed, fresh contests arose. Kings therefore early felt the need of mercenaries. Thus the necessity of a royal army became apparent; but in order to maintain it royal finances were needed.

The Church was another power whose encroachments it was necessary to repel. The bishops had a double jurisdiction: as proprietors of fiefs, they had a seignorial tribunal to judge their lay vassals; as bishops a *court Christian*, in which they judged delicts and crimes committed by ecclesiastics. Before this court they claimed to call a number of lay cases, as involving violations of the commands of God and the Church. They claimed, for instance, the judgment of perjury. But Philip and his barons refused them cognizance of perjury in feudal matters. They also took precaution against the indefinite increase of estates of mortmain, against the abuse of excommunication and of the right of asylum.

Thus the king of France allied himself to the barons in order to defend his power against the Church, and the Church aided him often in defending himself against the barons. The king could always count upon the aid of the burgesses, for he instituted new communes, he confirmed a great number of charters, and he employed the burgesses in the councils of the government. The citizen soldiery fought for him in all his wars.

Thus is the increasing strength of French royalty explained. While in England the barons, bishops, and commons united to limit the royal power, in France the royal power, feeble in the beginning, incessantly increased at the expense of the three orders, two of which generally united with it against the third.

Philip fortified Paris, embellished the city, paved the streets, built market-houses, instituted a police, and pushed actively forward the work upon the church of Notre Dame. He constructed the fortress of the Louvre for himself. He

rounded the Archives, and prescribed for the schools of Paris a regulation which granted great privileges to the scholars; they and their professors were made amenable only to the ecclesiastical tribunal, and, about 1250, took the name of University.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ST. LOUIS.

(1226-1270 A.D.)

St. Louis. — St. Louis (Louis IX.) is the true hero of the Middle Ages, a prince as pious as brave, who loved feudalism yet dealt it most deadly blows, who venerated the Church, yet if necessary could resist its chief; a sweet and sincere spirit, a loving heart, filled with Christian charity, yet who condemned the body of the sinner to torture in order to save his soul, who on earth thought only of heaven, and who made his office of king a magistracy of order and equity. This saint, this man of peace, did more, in the simplicity of his heart, for the progress of royalty, than the most subtle counsellors or ten warlike monarchs, because, after him, the king seemed to the people the incarnation of justice and order.

Regency of Blanche of Castile. — The son of Louis VIII. was a child of eleven years. A coalition of great vassals was formed immediately, to take advantage of his minority. The regent, Blanche of Castile, his mother, won over one of the confederates, the powerful Count of Champagne, and obtained from him the important counties of Blois, Chartres, and Sancerre. A treaty, signed in 1229, assured the inheritance of the Count of Toulouse to a brother of the king, and a marriage contracted between the king's second brother and the heiress of Provence paved the way for the union of that country to France at another time. Thus the king found himself master, directly or through his brothers, of a great part of the South of France. The majority of St. Louis was proclaimed in 1236; but the wise regent retained her influence.

The great pontificate of Innocent III. had given fresh energy to the Church and to religious feeling. The spirit of the crusaders was again aroused. Jews were massacred and heretics burned. But the crusade itself (1239) was a failure, and Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Kharezmians.

Relations with Foreign Powers. — In 1241, the Emperor Frederick II. having detained the French prelates who had gone to Rome to the council, St. Louis firmly insisted that they should be set at liberty. He refused, when requested by the Pope, to modify a royal ordinance of 1234 which restricted the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical tribunals. Attacked by the English, in 1242, St. Louis defeated them at Taillebourg and Saintes. He would perhaps have been able to drive them out of France, but he refused to follow up his victory. The territorial acquisitions made during the past half-century had trebled the extent of the royal domains; but they seemed to him stained with violence, being the gains of two confiscations. By reason of conscientious scruples, he allowed the king of England to take the duchy of Guienne, on condition of doing homage to the crown. Finally, in order to prevent perjuries, he compelled all lords who held fiefs of two crowns to choose between the two sovereigns. His southern boundary was fixed, by an agreement with the king of Aragon, and the county of Barcelona ceased to depend upon the crown of France (1258). In 1245 Pope Innocent IV., driven from Italy by the Emperor Frederick, took refuge in Lyons, and held there the thirteenth ecumenical council, which was attended by one hundred and forty bishops.

First Crusade of St. Louis (1248–1254). — During an illness which nearly proved fatal, in 1244, Louis made a vow to go to the Holy Land. His mother and his counsellors attempted in vain to dissuade him from this resolution. Louis left the royal power again in the hands of Queen Blanche, and embarked at Aigues-Mortes, on the Mediterranean. The Sire de Joinville, the king's friend and biographer, describes the departure of the fleet, priests and warriors all singing together the hymn *Veni, creator Spiritus*, as they set sail, and the delightful talk of the good king during the voyage.

St. Louis had for two years caused a great quantity of provisions to be collected in the island of Cyprus. The army thence set out for Egypt in 1800 vessels, large and small. Damietta, at one of the mouths of the Nile, was taken (June, 1249), but precious time was lost before marching upon Cairo. Five months and a half of delay restored the courage of the Mamelukes. Finally the crusaders advanced slowly to Mansourah. A badly managed battle at that place cost the lives of a large number of knights and the

Count of Artois, the brother of St. Louis. Soon the army was surrounded by enemies and the ranks thinned by pestilence. The retreat was disastrous; they were obliged at last to surrender. The saintly king rendered his captivity honorable by his courage, and inspired even his enemies with respect for his virtues. They released him in consideration of a large ransom. On being set at liberty he went into Palestine, where he remained three years, employing his influence and his zeal in maintaining harmony among the Christians, and his resources in repairing the fortifications of the places which they still occupied.

The Pastoureaux; Return of Louis (1254).—The news of these disasters only increased the king's popularity in France. With wild enthusiasm, an immense crowd of serfs and peasants assembled to cross the sea and go to the rescue of the king. This was the crusade of the Pastoureaux; but these men lived by pillage as they went along; even murder was committed; it became necessary to deal rigorously with them. The news of the death of the regent (December, 1252) at last recalled Louis to France. In 1264 he was chosen arbiter between the king of England and his barons, on the subject of the Provisions of Oxford. He decided in favor of the king, but unsuccessfully; for the barons paid no attention to the arbiter's sentence, and put Henry III. under severe restrictions. More fortunate elsewhere, he decided a question of succession which delivered Flanders from civil war.

Last Crusade of St. Louis.—In the year 1270 St. Louis undertook another crusade, this time directed against Tunis; but died of the pestilence, under the walls of the place, with the greater part of his army.

The French had, in this reign, made another great expedition without the aid of royalty. Charles of Anjou, Count of Provence, summoned by the Pope to aid him against King Manfred, son of the Emperor Frederick II., had conquered, in 1266, the kingdom of Naples. It was to the self-interested advice of Charles of Anjou that the direction taken by the last crusade was due, for he expected that the submission of the king of Tunis would secure Sicily from the continual incursions of the Saracens into that island.

Administration of St. Louis.—Capetian royalty had made great progress. The counts of Flanders and Brittany and

the Duke of Guienne were almost the only lords who had not descended to the condition of obedient vassals; but feudalism still retained great prerogatives. St. Louis attacked them in the name of justice and religion. By persevering in the execution of the ordinances respecting the *quarantaine le roy* and *asseurement*, he suppressed almost all private wars. As a Christian, he was opposed to these wars which sent into the presence of God so many ill-prepared souls; as a prince, he desired to arrest the devastation of the country districts. He forbade the judiciary duel in his own domains. The king's justice was thus substituted for individual violence, and the evidence of witnesses and written proceedings replaced trials by combat.

Appeals and Royal Cases.—The lords rendered justice on their own estates. The villein could not question their judgment, but the vassal had the right to appeal to the suzerain from the sentence of his lord. The king also favored the custom of appealing directly to his court, which subordinated seignorial justice to his own. When a cause carried before a seignorial tribunal touched the king's interests, the bailli interposed and claimed jurisdiction, the king not being amenable to a lord. These causes were the *royal cases*. It was easy to multiply them. At the same time the institution of the bourgeoisie of the king was established. An inhabitant of a seignorial estate could, under certain conditions of establishment and temporary residence in a royal city, acquire the quality of king's burgess. The king's burgess could be judged by the king's officers only.

The King's Court.—The king's court continued to accumulate all sorts of attributes; it was a court of accounts, and if it pleased the king, a political council; but it was particularly, in the time of St. Louis, a court of justice. The royal finances were always very simple; in case of a crusade, of the captivity of the king, of knighthood conferred upon his eldest son, and of his marriage, the prince, as in the case of all lords, could claim the feudal *aids*. The revenues of the domain, well administered, were still sufficient to sustain royalty.

But in the court, the role of the great vassals and officers of the crown had diminished. Since they had not sufficient learning to administer the law under the new system of procedure in writing, legists were added. At first the barons scornfully seated these plebeians on stools at their

feet. Soon the baron was silent in presence of his learned counsellors; the latter acquired complete control of judgments, and the fate of criminals, even the most noble, was placed in their hands. This court had its regular sessions at Paris, generally four times a year.

The Provincial Administration; Baillis, Royal Inquisitors, and Provosts. — In the provincial administration, Louis, to protect his own power and his subjects, forbade the baillis and seneschals making presents to the members of the council, receiving, or even borrowing money from suitors in their courts, taking part in sales and leases granted in the name of the king. They were forbidden to buy any land in their jurisdictions, or to marry their sons and daughters without the permission of the king. If they "did wrong," they were punished in their property and in their persons. On going out of office they were made answerable to those whom they had wronged. St. Louis sent through the provinces commissioners or royal inquisitors to defend the rights of the king, and also those of his subjects. In all these measures the influence of the legists and the memories of the Roman administration are to be seen.

We have spoken of the organization of the provostships. Those who formed that of Paris, according to Joinville, oppressed the lower class, sustained their families in any outrages which they committed, allowed themselves to be corrupted by the wealthy class, and took no notice of thieves and evil-doers, who crowded Paris and the environs. The king removed them and put in their place Étienne Boileau, who kept order with rigid severity.

The King and Feudalism. — Louis had dealt feudalism some severe blows by the suppression of the judicial duel, the interdiction of private wars, and the introduction of appeals. He was not a revolutionary king, but he regarded it as the duty of royalty to assure peace and repose to its subjects. The spirit of justice and Christian sentiments were his guiding motives.

He was determined that all should submit to this justice which he thought he had been delegated by God to establish. His brother, the Count of Anjou, had in a trial condemned a knight, and the latter having taken an appeal to the king's court, the count had thrown him into prison. The king informed his brother that there was only one king in France, and that, brother of the king though he was,

he would not be spared contrary to justice. The Count of Anjou was obliged to release his prisoner; he came in person to defend himself against the appeal to the king's court, which, however, pronounced in favor of the knight.

Ordinances respecting Money. — The right of coining money belonged to more than twenty-four lords, who often coined bad money. St. Louis decided that his own should pass throughout the kingdom; that it alone should be received in the royal domain, and in the territories of lords who had not the right to coin money; that the seignorial money should pass only in the territory of the lord who issued it, and that these lords should coin only certain pieces of determined value. He also determined to coin better *parisis* and better *tournois* than those of his lords, so that his money, like his justice, should be worth more than that of his vassals. He held his lords responsible for the police of the roads in their lordships. At Paris, he instituted the royal watch and caused the provost, Étienne Boileau, to reduce to writing the ancient regulations of the hundred trades which existed in that city. These trades were grouped in great corporations; in the fifteenth century all the merchants of Paris formed six bodies of arts and trades.

The King and the Church. — St. Louis showed a respectful firmness toward the papal authority. He maintained the liberties of the Gallican Church and restricted the impositions which the Church of Rome placed upon the churches of France. His earnest faith insured him against all fear of injuring the Church; it even led him to harsh acts which now seem barbarous. He punished blasphemers by piercing their tongues with a red-hot iron.

Decline of the Communes. — He was extremely generous to the cities. Yet communal independence did not seem better to him than feudal independence, and he favored the transformation of communes into royal cities, the latter dependent on the supreme power, yet enjoying municipal privileges. Thus the communes began to disappear, and with them their proud sentiments, their grand ideas of right and liberty; but the third estate was beginning its course.

By the weakening of feudal and communal independence, by his firm government with regard to the Church, Louis showed to his successors the paths which were to lead French royalty on to absolute power. He rendered them another service. The memory of his virtues did not perish

with him. Venerated during his lifetime as a saint, he was canonized after his death, and, as it were, sanctified French royalty.

The Sainte Chapelle; the Sorbonne. — He built the hospital of the Quinze-Vingts for the blind, several *hôtels-Dieu*, and the church of Vincennes. To contain the crown of thorns, which the Venetians had sold him, he built in his palace, now the palace of justice, the Sainte Chapelle. His confessor, Robert de Sorbon, founded a community under the name of "Congregation of the poor masters students of theology." This congregation became the Sorbonne, a faculty of theology celebrated throughout Christendom.

CHAPTER XXV.

CIVILIZATION IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Greatness of the Thirteenth Century. — The most remarkable period of the Middle Ages is the thirteenth century. Two great Popes, Innocent III. and Innocent IV., then occupied the chair of St. Peter; a saint sat on the throne of France, and on that of the Empire a prince upon whom the gaze of the world has rested ever since, Frederick II. Italy temporarily regained her independence. England established her public liberties, wrote her great charter, instituted her Parliament. The crusades failed; but the results of these great enterprises were still dazzlingly manifest. That great movement of men led to a great movement of things and ideas. Commerce, industry, letters, the arts, advanced by leaps and bounds; schools multiplied; studies progressed; national literature was started; great names appeared, — Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Dante.

Power of French Royalty. — In France great changes had occurred in the last one hundred and fifty years. The great revolutionist, at this period, was the king, as the aristocracy had been before Hugh Capet, as the people were to be after Louis XIV. Royalty advanced with long strides towards absolute power. It had imposed upon its turbulent vassals the king's peace, the king's justice, the king's money, and it made laws for all.

Formation of the Third Estate. — To this revolution among the upper classes there corresponded a revolution among the lower classes. In the eleventh century the people had united for common defence. They had extorted from the lords the right to administer their own affairs, they had built walls and towers, organized a militia, and elected magistrates. They had lived in this way for a century and a half, in a proud independence, but also in isolation, and always on the watch. Royalty, on coming into absolute power, was disturbed by the free discussion and independence of these communities. Its intervention became greater from

day to day, and the communes little by little disappeared. France thus escaped the danger of having, like Italy, a thousand republics, and of being, like her, delivered over for several centuries to be the prey of municipal anarchy and foreign rule. Yet from another point of view it was a misfortune that those urban liberties were suppressed, by which the nation would have obtained the strong political education which it has always lacked.

But though no more communal charters were granted, there were charters of bourgeoisie and of enfranchisement. In the twelfth century the serfs had already been admitted to witness in courts of justice; and Popes had demanded their liberty. In the thirteenth, enfranchisements were very numerous, for the lords began to perceive the superior economic advantage of having free tenants. Thus there were two movements uniting to form of the non-nobles a class whose members should have a strong feeling of common interests, — the Third Estate.

The Legists and the Roman Law. — This new class was animated by quite another spirit than that of feudalism. While this latter bestowed everything upon the eldest and rendered inheritances inalienable, the bourgeois embodied in their charters some of the principles of rational law, such as equal division of property among all the children. The new popular law could not have struggled successfully with the aristocratic law, if it had not found a powerful auxiliary in the old law of the Roman Emperors. Long neglected but not entirely forgotten, this law was taken up again with enthusiasm in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in some of the cities of Italy, especially in Bologna, to which numbers of scholars resorted from all Europe. Soon Montpellier, Angers, and Orleans had professorships of Roman law. In the eyes of the men of that time, wandering in the chaos of feudal law, the Roman code, an admirable collection of logical deductions, which have for starting-points natural equity and common utility, seemed to be truly, as they called it, written reason. The rich bourgeoisie devoted their children to this study in which they found a weapon of defence against the feudal regime, and with these laws, whose origin and antiquity rendered them doubly venerable, the legists were able to work out, in a thousand different ways, enfranchisement from the two great servitudes of the Middle Ages, — that of man, and that of the land. Several provinces

were authorized to follow the Roman law as their municipal law. In those which retained their special legislation the Roman law insensibly penetrated their habits of thought. Thus commenced in the thirteenth century the war of rational law, whether Roman or customary, against the aristocratic law of feudal society; a war sustained and directed by the legists, and which only ended in the great triumph of equality over privilege in 1789.

The commons demanded only civil liberty; they did not then dream of political liberty, and the most intelligent among them willingly accepted the equality of all under one master. The Emperor had in ancient times been absolute; the legists made the king the heir of the emperors; and royalty employed the legists to administer France. Thus two powers confronted each other, — feudal aristocracy, which had possession of the soil and the military forces; and royalty, which, supported by the third estate, counselled by the legists, endeavored to regain all the power which had slipped away from it, and to unite again to the crown the ancient prerogatives of imperial power. At the death of Louis it was already evident which of the two forces would prevail.

Commerce. — Before the crusades, intercourse with Asia was rare; a few cities of Italy, of Provence, and of Catalonia were the only ones not deterred by the distance; but now those of Germany and France would follow the roads which had just been opened. The merchants of Lyons, Nîmes, Avignon, Marseilles, went twice a year to Alexandria to obtain the commodities of the East, which also reached France by way of Venice, Genoa, and Amalfi. With increased activity of trade, annual fairs were held, which were celebrated throughout Europe. The merchants of the southern towns traded with the rich manufactories of Flanders and the immense emporium of Bruges. Bordeaux already exported wines to England and Flanders; the cities of Languedoc bought arms at Toledo, and leather tapestries at Cordova. The Basque sailors of Bayonne and Biarritz began the whale fishery. Paris had a *hanse*, or association for merchandise which came to her by water.

Industries and New Cultures. — The crusaders also brought from the East new industries; the tissues of Damascus, glass from Tyre, the use of windmills, flax, silk, some useful plants, as the damson plum, the sugar-cane, the product

of which was to take the place of honey; the orange, originally from Farther India, and the mulberry, which enriched first Italy and then France.

The use of cotton goods began at this time to become general. Paper made of cotton had long been known; linen paper was made by the end of the thirteenth century; but it is only since the sixteenth that it has generally been substituted for parchment. Damascening, the engraving of seals, and coining were brought nearer to perfection. The application of enamel was learned, and the goldsmith's art made great progress.

Corporations.—In the time of the Roman Empire workmen of the same profession formed associations among themselves. The Germans, on their part, introduced the use of guilds, all the members of which promised to support each other and celebrated their union by festivals. The two institutions, merged, formed the corporations of the Middle Ages. The members of a corporation obtained from it mutual protection, and aid for old men, widows, and orphans. Each had a patron saint, festivals, and a treasury. The chiefs prevented frauds and watched over the observance of the regulations. These regulations required a long and strict apprenticeship, and assured to the members of the corporation the monopoly of their industry; so that for each profession the number of masters was fixed by the corporation itself. The result was that there was no competition, because there was no liberty, and prices were maintained at a high rate. But this severe discipline was necessary to an infant industry.

Condition of the Rural Districts; the Merchants.—The corporations gave some security to the industries of the cities, but agriculture had no security. Forests and plains covered a vast extent of the country, and cultivated land was found only around the cities and walled towns and the strong castles and monasteries. For the laborer dared not venture into the country, far from any place of refuge.

If the peasant was obliged to take such precautions, what had not the merchant to fear? He was obliged to pay, beside his custom-house duties, town-dues and toll, levied at the entrance of the provinces, at the gates of the cities, on the highways, at the bridges and entrances of the forests, and a payment, for escort, to each lord whose domain he crossed, in order to be guarded from robbery. Marine merchants

were equally subject to various exactions, and particularly to the odious rights of wreckage. When there was a shipwreck, the lords of the adjacent shore appropriated all that was thrown up by the sea. Naturally, wrecking by false signals was common. St. Louis required the lords taking toll to take care of the roads and afford protection to travellers from sunrise to sunset. One result of prosperity and increasing security was a considerable advancement in population. The Church proscribing interest on loans, usurers increased in numbers. These were generally Jews. This was one of the causes of the general hatred against them. In order to conceal their wealth, and at the same time cause their money to circulate freely, they invented the letter of exchange.

Universities. — Few abbeys of any importance were without a school. But the need of instruction became so general, that these monastic schools were not sufficient. Others were opened in all the great cities. But in the Middle Ages everything took the form of a corporation. At Paris, Angers, Orleans, Toulouse, Montpellier, the masters and pupils united and formed in each city, under the name of University, a body which had extensive privileges. The University of Paris received its statutes from Philip Augustus, in 1215. It was divided into four faculties, — of theology, of canon law, of medicine, and of arts; the last taught grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, the *trivium*, and also the *quadrivium*, or arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Roman law was principally studied at Orleans; medicine at Montpellier. Important privileges attracted students to these universities. That of Paris numbered fifteen or twenty thousand students, who were not subject to the authority of the magistrates of the city, who could not be arrested for debt, and who very frequently disturbed the city by their quarrels or their dissipations, but from among whom arose, in the thirteenth century alone, seven popes, and a great number of cardinals, bishops, and scholars.

Scholasticism. — The Middle Ages, in their profound faith, remained a long time without demanding of any one but their theologians the solution of the great problems which continually agitate the soul with regard to itself and God; the mind, however, cannot remain forever shut up within the same formulas. Philosophy reappeared, but in the special form called scholasticism.

St. Anselm, in the eleventh century, employed for the proof of religious truth the same processes of reasoning which Aristotle had used to discover scientific truths. Later, when the Spanish Jews had translated from Arabic into Latin many hitherto unknown works of Aristotle, he at once acquired entire ascendancy in all the chairs of philosophy. Unhappily the mediæval mind was uncritical in its study of his methods. All science was reduced to the art of reasoning. Scholasticism was not a system of philosophy, a body of doctrines upon great questions; it was much rather a certain manner of debating on all questions, by deductions from assumed premises. It remained a sort of intellectual gymnastics in which the aim was not the discovery of truth, but the victory gained in the combats of words, by the aid of subtle distinctions and a technical jargon. The mind was nevertheless sharpened and strengthened by these unproductive contests.

The thirteenth century witnessed the long debates between Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, who both studied and taught at Paris, with great distinction, divided between them the Schools and Christendom itself, and continued to agitate the whole of the fourteenth century through the disputes of their followers, the Scotists and the Thomists.

They had been preceded in the school of Paris by the German Albertus Magnus. After these superior men, foreigners by birth, may be mentioned Vincent of Beauvais, chaplain of St. Louis, who wrote an encyclopædia embracing all the knowledge of his time, the *Speculum Majus*. Invention appeared with Roger Bacon, an English monk, who also studied at Paris, who discovered gunpowder, magnifying-glasses, and the air-pump, or at least described them in his writings, and foreshadowed the reform of the calendar effected by Gregory XIII. It was also at Paris that the Spaniard Raymond Lulli published his *Ars magna*, a powerful but vain effort to trace out a classification of the sciences.

Astrology; Alchemy. — One of the whims of this age was astrology; it grew until the sixteenth century, and was not extinguished until the seventeenth. The astrologers pretended to read in the stars the destinies of human life. Another folly was that of the alchemists, who sought for the philosopher's stone, the means of making gold by the transmutation of metals. Yet these were the germs of astronomy and chemistry respectively. Witchcraft also abounded.

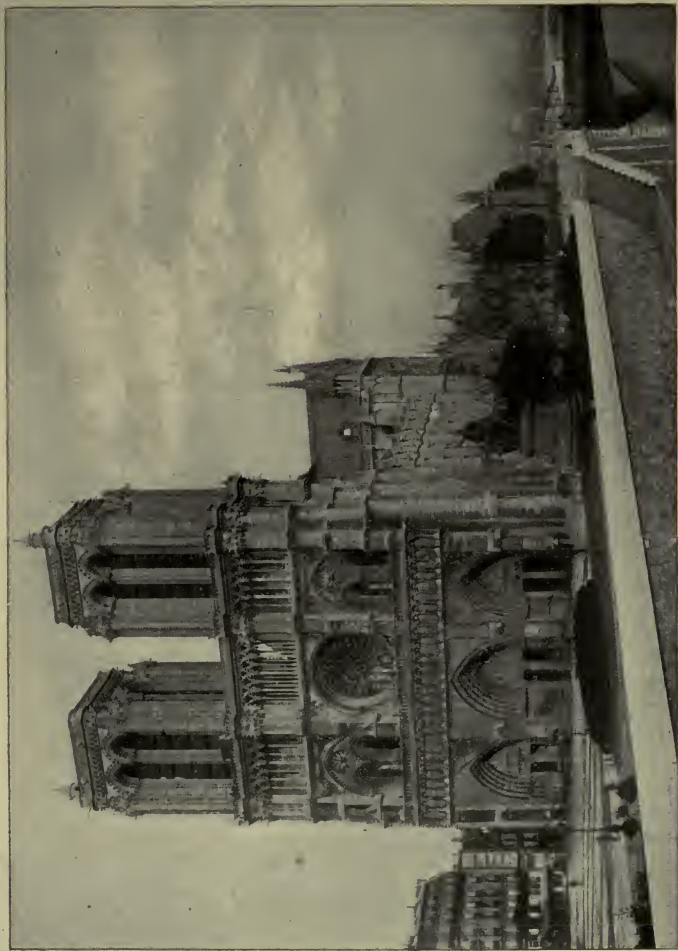
The French Language.—In the thirteenth century the French language disengaged itself finally from Latin forms to assume its true character. It became the language of legislation. Villehardouin, the historian of the fourth crusade, Joinville, the biographer of St. Louis, wrote in French. A Venetian, translating into French a chronicle of his own country in 1275, excused himself for doing so by saying that the French language "is current throughout the world, and is more pleasant to listen to than any other." Ten years earlier Brunetto Latini, the master of Dante, wrote in French his *Trésor*, because "the French language is the most widely spoken among men."

The Trouvères.—The French genius was at this time spreading over all the adjoining countries a flood of grand poetry. The voice of the troubadours had been silent since the Albigensian crusade had drowned in blood the civilization of Languedoc. But north of the Loire the trouvères still composed *chansons de geste*, true epic poems, which were translated or imitated by Italy, England, and Germany. From the twelfth century the intellectual domination of Europe belonged incontestably to France. The most celebrated of those trouvères was Robert Wace, "a clerk of Caen," who had written, about 1155, the *Brut*, a fabulous history of the kings of England; Chrestien de Troyes (after 1100), the author of the *Chevalier au Lion*; and lastly Rutebœuf, a contemporary of St. Louis, the earliest type of the professional poet, poor but gay, sarcastic and bold.

Fabliaux; Roman de la Rose, etc.—Rutebœuf is the best known of the authors of the fabliaux, the bold tales which the old French loved so well, in which priest and noble were not spared. These attacks are found also in the famous poem of *Renart*, a satire upon feudal society, and in the most popular work of its time, the *Roman de la Rose*, by Guillaume de Lorris and Jehan de Meung.

We ought not, however, to make precocious revolutionists of these unrestrained story-tellers; they are the press of that period; we find in their verses an echo, as it were, of all the rumors of the day and all the emotions of the crowd; also that good sense and rude feeling of justice which were later to raise Jacques Bonhomme from his low estate.

Villehardouin and Joinville.—One thing in literature which belongs peculiarly to the thirteenth century is the appearance of French prose. But the first prose-writers of



THE NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL AT PARIS.
From photograph.



France were not writers by profession; they were two distinguished lords, both of whom had taken part in the events which they related. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, has left us the history of the fourth crusade, the *Conquête de Constantinople*. He writes as a soldier, in a strong, terse style, not without a certain military stiffness. The Sire de Joinville shows in his *Memoirs* of the seventh crusade more suppleness of style and more delicacy of mind; he observes, reflects, and talks freely of his own feelings as well as of the events of the war.

Art. — The triumph of pointed architecture was at last assured. The arch was still further elongated, so as to bear higher, nearer to heaven, the vault of the temple and the prayers of the people. At this time were reared the vast and lofty cathedrals of Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Sens, Chartres, Rheims, Bourges, and Strassburg, and the Sainte Chapelle of St. Louis, at Paris. Romance architecture, heavy and massive, gave way before this newer style, which gave constant evidence of great boldness of conception and elevation and fervor of religious feeling. Colonies of French artists carried the new style to Canterbury, to Utrecht, to Milan, and even to Sweden. Coarse and naïve statuary decorated the churches, and stained glass produced magic effects in the windows. The miniature paintings, which ornamented the missals and hour-books, have left us precious masterpieces.

The Friars. — The thirteenth century witnessed an important innovation in the Church, — the creation of the orders of mendicants. St. Benedict had promulgated, about the year 529, a monastic rule under which all the monks of the West had successively ranged themselves; this rule imposed both manual and mental labor. The Benedictines associated agriculture with preaching, the copying of manuscripts and teaching with prayer. The different orders of monks subsequently created continued more or less faithful to this idea. The order of the Franciscans, instituted in 1207 by St. Francis of Assisi, and that of the Dominicans, founded by the Spaniard St. Dominic at Toulouse in 1215, were of quite another character. The Franciscans and the Dominicans, exempt from the jurisdictions of the bishops and devoted soldiers of the Holy See, were required to live by charity, to possess nothing, to go out into the world everywhere to carry the Gospel to those places into which

the too luxurious clergy would no longer go, into the midst of the poor, in the alleys and highways. The influence exerted by these enthusiastic preachers upon the Church and the people was very great. The Dominicans, to whom the conversion of the heretics had been especially committed, were invested, in 1229, with inquisitorial functions; but the tribunal of the inquisition happily did not take root in France. Duns Scotus, Raymond Lulli, and Roger Bacon were Franciscans; Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus were Dominicans. The Carmelites and the Augustine friars originated in the same century, and with those already mentioned, formed the four orders of the mendicants. The austerity and exalted piety of these new monks, the learning of some of their doctors, aroused emulation among the old cenobites and even the secular clergy; ecclesiastical discipline was restored.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PHILIP III. THE BOLD AND PHILIP IV. THE FAIR.

(1270-1314 A.D.)

Philip III. (1270-1285); **Aggrandizement of the Royal Domain.** — Little is known of the reign of the eldest son of Louis, though it lasted fifteen years. Under him, however, may still be observed the upward march of royalty, which, by the extinction of several feudal races, united to its domain Valois, Poitou, the counties of Toulouse and Venaissin. But Philip III. abandoned to the Pope this last fief and half of Avignon. The Count of Foix was compelled to promise faithful obedience and to cede a part of his estate. The domination of the king of France was thus approaching the Pyrenees; it even crossed them. Philip had the heiress of the kingdom of Navarre married to his son, and made an expedition into Catalonia, which, however, was unsuccessful. Its cause was a family interest. Philip endeavored to punish Pedro, king of Aragon, for the assistance he had rendered the Sicilians in their revolt against Charles of Anjou, after the murder of all the French who resided in the island, in the massacre called the Sicilian Vespers (1282).

Philip IV. (1285-1314); **Wars of Guienne and Flanders.** — Philip IV., surnamed the Fair, who succeeded his father (1285), got rid of useless wars, and occupied himself with enlarging his own domain by acquisitions within his reach. His marriage with the heiress of Navarre and Champagne had already brought him two great provinces. A decree of parliament also ensured him the possession of La Marche and Angoumois. In addition to this, his second son married the heiress of Franche-Comté. Thus by marriage, forfeitures, and conquests, the whole of France was being united to the royal domain. But there were still some powerful vassals; the Duke of Brittany, the Count of Flanders, and especially the Duke of Guienne. Philip first attacked the last. He was a formidable adversary, because he was also king of

England. Fortunately, Edward I. was too much occupied with his Welsh and Scotch wars to cross over to the continent. The royal army was therefore able to make rapid progress in Guienne. Another army, led by the king in person, entered Flanders, whose count had declared for the king of England, and defeated the Flemings at Furnes (1297). The intervention of Pope Boniface VIII. brought about peace between the two kings. The Count of Flanders surrendered himself, and Flanders was reunited to the royal domain (1300).

Flanders was the richest country in Europe, because it was the one in which most work was done. On this fertile land population had grown with the harvests; cities were numerous, the people active and industrious, but attached to England, whence they obtained the wool necessary for their manufactures. The cloths of Flanders were sold in all Christian lands, and even in Constantinople; and the cities of the Low Countries were the markets in which the commodities of the North, brought from the Baltic, were exchanged for those of the South, which came from Venice and Italy by way of the Rhine. Among so many cities, defended by their walls, and better still by a population accustomed to work and to frugality, but at the same time proud of its numbers, its strength, and its wealth, knight-hood had stood a poor chance, and there was but little feudalism in Flanders. All its cities had their privileges. It was not prudent to interfere with them.

Financial Embarrassments of Philip the Fair.—French royalty was, under Philip the Fair, in that transitional stage which rendered it necessarily troublesome and oppressive. The royal domain at that time comprised, instead of four or five cities, two-thirds of France. It was therefore necessary to have baillis, seneschals, and provosts, in order to maintain order and secure the execution of the laws, judges for the administration of justice, counsellors for government. All these agents desired payment for their trouble. War, instead of being made within a short distance, was transported to the Pyrenees, the Garonne, and the Scheldt; instead of a battle there was a campaign. The feudal levies became insufficient. In order to keep them under the flag beyond the time fixed by the conditions of their tenure, the king offered them pay, and when necessary enlisted hired soldiers. Philip the Fair, continually short

of money, was obliged to resort to all sorts of means to obtain it; as financial science was of late birth, the ill-chosen methods of doing this were to prove ruinous to the people, without being greatly beneficial to the government. For instance, he despoiled the bankers of the time, the Jews and Lombards, which caused them to conceal their money; changed the value of coins, which made commerce impossible; promulgated sumptuary laws, which would ruin industry; taxed the clergy, and destroyed the order of the Temple, to obtain its wealth. One of his methods was honest and good; he sold liberty to many of the serfs of his domains, and commuted his dues of service for cash payments. These considerations explain not only the reign of Philip the Fair, but the whole fourteenth century. All the kings of that period were in continual need of money, and did not know how to obtain it in any other ways than these.

Another War with Flanders (1302–1304); Battle of Courtray (1302).—Philip had made Jacques de Châtillon governor of the Flemings. They revolted against him. Philip sent Robert of Artois with a numerous army to revenge the insult. Twenty thousand Flemings bravely awaited this chivalry near Courtray, behind a canal. The assailants advanced in bad order, sure of conquering, and not doing these villeins the justice to believe that they would dare to look them in the face. They had not even taken the precaution to reconnoitre the position of the Flemings. The first ranks of the heavy column of cavalry, sent forward at full speed, fell into the canal which covered the enemy's line, and the Flemings had only to plunge their long lances into the confused mass of men and horses to kill without danger to themselves. A sortie which they made from the two ends of the canal completed the rout. Two hundred lords of high degree and 6000 men at arms perished, among them the constable and the Count of Artois.

The battle of Courtray, a defeat of the flower of the chivalry by the peasantry, had a powerful effect, but did not all at once cure the nobility of its presumptuous folly. The defeats of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were to follow; the feudal nobility was to lose the prestige which had so long surrounded it, and to see itself confronted by another army, that of the king and the people, which completed its downfall.

Battle of Mons-en-Puelle (1304). — Philip the Fair took active measures to repair the disastrous defeat of Courtray. In two months he assembled 10,000 men-at-arms and 60,000 foot-soldiers. The cities of Flanders brought out 80,000 combatants. But nothing decisive was done on either side till 1304, when Philip attacked Flanders by land and sea. His fleet defeated that of the Flemings near Zierickzee, and he himself revenged at Mons-en-Puelle the defeat of Courtray. Yet in a few days they returned, as numerous as before, to demand another battle, and the king prepared to treat instead of fighting again. They promised him money; they ceded to him all of Walloon, or French-speaking, Flanders, between the Lys and the Scheldt. On these conditions he restored to the Flemings their count, who promised only feudal homage. Thus French royalty retreated before Flemish democracy, as German royalty was at the same time retreating before Swiss democracy.

Quarrels with Boniface VIII. — From the time of Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII., the Papacy had furnished itself with powerful means of action, until the Pope could hardly fail to think himself superior to kings. At the time of the jubilee in the year 1300, the Papacy seemed placed on the highest pinnacle of power. Three years after, all had changed; the temporal power, so often conquered, was triumphant, and it had been decided that Europe was not to be a theocracy. This great blow was struck by the hand of France. Yet France had always deserved the title of eldest daughter of the Roman Church. She had been its right arm under Clovis, under the Carolingians, against the Albigenses. She had conducted the crusades, given asylum to fugitive Popes; she was covered with monasteries, and her University of Paris, her doctors, her St. Bernard, had been the lights of Catholicism. But interests which had been common for so long became divided. War was declared under a man stern and merciless, whom no consideration held back.

The quarrel between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. had begun in 1296. In 1301 it was renewed, over the case of a papal legate who had defied the king's authority. The Pope threatened the king with excommunication for having dared to lift his hand against a bishop. At the same time he issued the bull *Ausculta fili*, in which he reproached him with oppressing his people, clergy and laity, by cruel exactions, with annoying them by changes of the coin, with

trenching upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with hindering the execution of episcopal sentences, and appropriating the revenues of vacant churches. Moreover, the pontiff hinted that there was a power in the kingdom superior to that of the king, that of the Holy See. Thus he believed himself in a position to judge, and to punish by the thunderbolts of the Church, the reprehensible acts of the prince; while the latter, guided by the legists, who, according to the spirit of the Roman law, recognized in the king an absolute power, claimed the right to intervene in the administration of the churches, and desired that the bishops, as well as the rest of his subjects, should be in subjection to his officers and courts. Philip declared that he would recognize no authority but that of God as superior to his own in temporal affairs, had the bull of the pontiff publicly burned, and, to win the approbation of the nation, called to his presence the deputies of the States-General, divided into three orders,—the clergy, nobility, and bourgeoisie or third estate (1302).

In the following year, the king again convoked the States-General, and counting on the firm support which he had received from these representatives of the country, carried the contest to extremes. The Pope, threatened by a general council, before which Philip proposed to bring him, prepared on his part a bull deposing the king. The latter anticipated him. One of his agents, William of Nogaret, and Sciarra Colonna, a Roman noble and a mortal enemy of the Pope, seized Anagni, where the Pope then was, and summoned him to abdicate. The Pope refusing, Sciarra Colonna dragged him from his throne, struck him in the face with his gauntlet, and would have killed him if Nogaret had not prevented him.

Death of Boniface VIII. (1304); Election of Clement V. (1305).—A short time after, Boniface died of shame and anger at the scandalous insults to which he had been subjected. His successor, Benedict XI., who tried to avenge him, died soon after, perhaps by poison. This time Philip took measures to control the election of the new pontiff. Bertrand de Goth, archbishop of Bordeaux, was nominated, after he had promised the king to comply with his requests. The new Pope, who took the name of Clement V., abandoned Rome, and in 1308 removed to Avignon, a possession of the Holy See, beyond the Alps, where he was under the control and at the disposal of the king of France. His successors

remained there until 1376. The sojourn of the Popes at Avignon, which deeply unsettled the Church, was called the Babylonish Captivity.

Condemnation of the Templars (1307).— Among the stipulations made with Clement, one was for the destruction of the Order of the Templars. The wealth of these warlike monks had tempted the avarice of the king, and their power was an obstacle to his despotism. They numbered 15,500 knights; together they could defy all the royal armies of Europe. They possessed in the Christian world more than 10,000 manors and a large number of fortresses. In the treasury of the Order there were 150,000 florins of gold, to say nothing of silver and precious vessels. A strong organization held the Knights under the control of the grand master. What passed in their temples was not known; but vague rumors told of orgies, scandals, impious acts, and terrible crimes. They were really guilty only of some degeneracy of morals, and their religious ceremonies were probably mixed, in the East, with the base alloy of heathenish practices.

Secret orders were issued for their arrest (1307). The Knights, surprised, had time neither to consult nor to resist. Torture forced from them such confessions as it has always secured. Philip, wishing to cause the nation to take part in this great trial, convened the States-General at Tours; the accusations and confessions were read before them, and the deputies declared that the Knights were guilty of death. Provincial councils condemned them. That of Paris caused fifty-four of the Templars, who had retracted their confessions, to be burned. Nine were burned at Senlis, others elsewhere. The Pope, at the council of Vienne, pronounced the dissolution of the Order throughout Christendom. All the money found in the Temple, two-thirds of the personal property, and the collectable debts, with a considerable number of domains, remained in the possession of the king. In Italy, England, Spain, and Germany, the Order of the Templars was abolished and its property partly confiscated by the princes.

This same council of Vienne condemned several errors which had arisen in the midst of the Order of the Franciscans; that of the Spirituals, who regarded St. Francis as a fresh incarnation of Jesus; that of the Beguins, and that of the Fraticelli, antinomians and communists respectively.

Last Years of Philip the Fair. — In 1313 the great dignitaries of the Order of the Temple were taken from their prisons, examined before a papal commission, and condemned to imprisonment for life. But the grand master, Jacques du Molay, and another dignitary at this moment recanted their confessions. During adjournment of the court Philip had the two Templars carried off and burned at the stake (1314). In the king's own family bloody tragedies took place. His three daughters-in-law, accused of scandalous deportment, were thrown into prison, where one of them was afterwards strangled, and another died of despair.

Meantime public hatred of the government increased. As alterations of the coinage did not suffice to furnish resources, the king levied tithes and aids on various pretexts, and finally resorted to arbitrary taxation. The general oppression almost brought on an insurrection, when Philip established a new tax upon the sale of all sorts of merchandise. Signs of the beginning of a union between the nobles and the bourgeois appeared. This time Philip retreated; he withdrew the tax and promised for the future to make only good money. But this sinister king, the sternest who had ever yet ruled in France, though only forty-six years old, had already reached the end of his life (d. 1314).

Under his reign the domain made important acquisitions; the counties of La Marche, Angoumois, Champagne, Franche-Comté, Lectoure, a part of Flanders, Quercy, Lyons, and a part of Montpellier.

The Parliament. — With the progress of royalty the functions of the king's court increased. A division became necessary; it fell into two parts, the political court or Great Council, and the judiciary court or Parliament. Philip the Fair defined the organization of the Parliament. He provided that it should assemble at Paris twice a year, for two months (1302). This sovereign court of justice, which claimed to exercise jurisdiction over the whole kingdom, was to be the great instrument of the kings in bringing all France under their absolute authority. The institution of magistrates appointed to defend the rights of the king and society in all cases, appeared to owe its origin to Philip the Fair. As he had selected the Parliament from the Great Council or king's court, so he separated from the Parliament the Chamber of Accounts. There were then three

great bodies for the higher administration of the country, — one judicial, the Parliament; another financial, the Chamber of Accounts; the third political, the Great Council.

Ordinances of Philip IV. ; Finances. — The numerous ordinances of Philip the Fair which have been preserved, prove his activity in organizing the new administration which royalty owed to the country, since it had substituted its own rule for that of the feudal lords. If these laws often bear the impress of a despotic and avaricious mind, there are some of them which show a true spirit of government. One of them forbade private wars and single combat during the wars of the king. Another forbade the lords to coin money. It was decided that appanages, or lands ceded by the king to one of his sons, should revert to the crown in default of male heirs; a decision of immense consequence.

Philip created the frontier custom-houses, by imposing an export-duty on all merchandise, and established new taxes. Until then kings had had no other regular revenue than that accruing from their domains. The continual wars of Philip rendered the feudal aids frequently necessary. But as they could not be levied until after having been agreed to, the king was obliged to call regular assemblies of representatives from the provostships and bailliages, or even from all the royal domain. These assemblies gave rise to the provincial States and the States-General.

First States-General. — The most important event in the administration of Philip IV. was the convocation, in 1302, of the first States-General. The most despotic of the French kings had been obliged to call about him the deputies of the nation, to obtain from them the aid which he needed, and to protect himself against the Pope by the approval of France. This was a tacit recognition of the old right of national sovereignty, so persistently kept in the background for centuries, and the men who, in 1302, fought for the king against the Pope, who, in 1326, determined the disposal of the crown, afterwards grew so bold as to endeavor to lay lands on the crown itself.



SEAL OF PHILIP V.



SEAL OF CHARLES IV.



CHAPTER XXVII.

THE THREE SONS OF PHILIP THE FAIR.

(1314-1328 A.D.)

Louis X. (1314-1316).—Three sons of Philip the Fair reigned one after the other: Louis X., le Hutin, from 1314 to 1316; Philip V., the Long, till 1322; Charles IV., the Fair, till 1328. The first of these princes wore the crown only eighteen months, and only two important events took place during his reign,—an unsuccessful expedition against the Flemings, and a strong feudal reaction, which struck down the councillors of Philip the Fair, and attempted the destruction of his work. The minister of finances of the late king was hung, and the nobles of several provinces secured the restoration of the privileges of which they had been deprived: the re-establishment of their ancient courts of justice, of trial by single combat, and of the right of private war, the abolition of procedure by written depositions, which rendered lawyers necessary, the removal of royal judges, etc. At the same time Louis, in order to procure money, solemnly declared that, “according to the right of nature, every man ought to be born free,” and he therefore concluded that the serfs of the royal domain had the right to ransom themselves. Servitude diminished constantly from that period; liberty became the rule, and bondage the exception. The last serfs, however, were not freed until the time of Louis XVI. Louis also readmitted the Jews, on condition that they should transfer to him two-thirds of the debts due them.

The Salic Law.—Louis X. left only one daughter; but the queen, some months after, gave birth to a posthumous son, who was named John, and who lived only eight days. Should his sister wear the crown? It was not desirable that a foreigner should obtain France by marriage, and the States-General, applying to the crown the ancient rule of succession established for Salic lands, excluded the daughter of Louis X. from the throne. Thus the right of inheritance

allowed to daughters in the case of fiefs was not recognized in the case of the crown. Philip the Long was proclaimed king instead of his niece (1316). This decision proved unfavorable to his own house, for he himself had only daughters, who were set aside in favor of Charles IV., their uncle, and the posthumous daughter of Charles was in turn set aside in favor of Philip of Valois (1328). The way to the throne was thus opened to a new branch of the Capetians, that of the Valois.

Philip V. (1316-1322).—The reigns of Philip V. and of Charles IV. are marked by few military events, but by many measures for regulating the administration of the country. Philip V. three times convoked the States-General, and renewed the exclusion of churchmen from the Parliament. He instituted in 1318 the Council of State. Philip V. endeavored to establish unity of coins, weights, and measures, and issued, upon finances, upon the organization of the Chamber of Accounts, upon the administration of waters and forests, etc., several ordinances which show a remarkable spirit of order and economy. The royal domain was declared inalienable. Like his grandfather Philip III., Philip the Long bestowed titles of nobility upon plebeians, an innovation which, by renewing the aristocratic body, assured its duration, but altered its spirit, separating it from the feudal possession of land.

Threatened from above by the kings, feudalism was also threatened from below by the people. The bourgeoisie obtained from Philip V. the right of military organization; and it was in this century, indeed under this reign, that the ecclesiastical parishes became civil communities. The country people had gradually united under the superintendence of an officer of the lord, afterwards under a syndic or a mayor, usually appointed by the lord, and who called them together to deliberate upon their common interests.

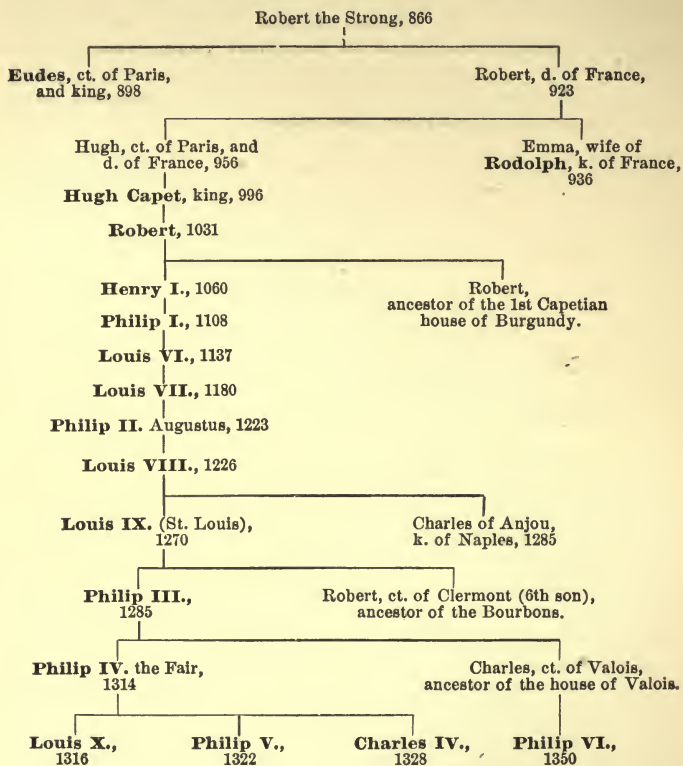
Charles IV. (1322-1328).—Charles IV. published various regulations relative to commerce; he increased the duties upon exportation, and drove out the Lombards whom Louis X. had recalled. Abroad, the king favored in England the revolution which drove Edward II. from the throne, and received the homage of the son of that prince for Guienne and Poitou; in Germany, he was on the point of obtaining the imperial crown. But a sort of fatality seemed to pursue the house. Its princes died in the flower of their age;

Philip the Fair at forty-six, Louis X. at twenty-seven, Philip the Long at twenty-eight, Charles the Fair at thirty-four. The people saw in these premature deaths a sign of the vengeance of Heaven upon that family which had buffeted Boniface VIII., perhaps poisoned Benedict XI., and burned the Templars.

The Middle Ages themselves were at this period, at least in France, almost at their end; for all that they had loved, the crusades, chivalry, feudalism, had ended or was perishing; the Papacy, scoffed at in Boniface VIII., was captive at Avignon; the successor of Hugh Capet was a despot, and the sons of villeins were seated in the States-General, face to face with the nobles and the clergy

GENEALOGY OF THE ELDER BRANCH OF THE CAPETIANS.

(The date which follows each name is that of death.)



SEVENTH PERIOD.

HUNDRED YEARS' WAR; RENEWAL OF ANARCHY. (1328-1436.)

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HOUSE OF CAPET-VALOIS.—PHILIP VI.

(1328-1350 A.D.)

Power of the King of France.—Philip VI. of Valois, cousin of Charles IV., and grandson of Philip III., came to the throne by virtue of the exclusion of women, thrice asserted in twelve years. Edward III., king of England, grandson of Philip IV. by his mother Isabella, protested against this exclusion and claimed the crown; but the internal troubles of England forced him to recognize the rights of Philip VI., to whom he did homage for his duchy of Guienne. The great victory of Cassel which Philip won, for the Count of Flanders, from the revolted subjects of the latter, gave the new royal house the prestige of military success (1328).

Never since Charlemagne had the king of France found himself so powerful. Direct master of three-fourths of the kingdom, suzerain of the kings of Majorca, Navarre, and England, as to the fiefs which they possessed in France, ally of the kings of Bohemia and Scotland, kinsman of those of Naples and Hungary, patron of the Pope, whom he held in honorable captivity at Avignon, Philip VI. was by far the most powerful monarch in Christendom. It was in the midst of this prosperity of monarchy and nation that the unfortunate war broke out which thrust France back, for more than a century, into chaos.

Claims of Edward III.; Robert of Artois.—Circum-

stances had compelled Edward III., in 1328, to recognize Philip of Valois; but he had done so reluctantly. Philip, to check his ambitious schemes, aided the Scotch, who were at war against him. For France, as long as Scotland was independent, always sought and found devoted friends in that country. But Edward defeated the Scotch, and was ready to give similar aid to any enemy of France, when Robert of Artois arrived in England.

This Robert, a prince of the blood, had claimed the county of Artois, held by his aunt, and after her by her daughters. To support his claims he forged documents and suborned false witnesses. On the trial it also appeared that he had probably poisoned his aunt and the elder of his cousins. He was condemned to forfeiture of his property and banishment for life (1332). He withdrew to Brabant, and, to revenge himself, tried magical arts against the king's son. Thence, in fear of a trial for sorcery, he fled to England, where he urged on Edward to war (1334).

Affairs of Flanders; Arteveld. — Edward had a more serious reason for taking up arms. The Flemings were then the most industrious, the richest, and the freest people in Europe. Their cloth was manufactured from English wool, so that they were attached to England by interest. In 1336 they drove out their count, who had violated their privileges; and their popular chief, Arteveld, immediately invoked the assistance of Edward III., advising him to take the title of king of France, in order to remove all scruples of the Flemings, who might, perhaps, have hesitated to fight against their suzerain. The war, begun in 1337, languished for several years. The French, defeated in a sea-fight off Sluys, were victorious on land: finally a truce interrupted the strife.

Affairs of Brittany (1341–1343). — In 1341 hostilities began anew in Brittany, where the two kings sustained each a different candidate for the ducal throne. The two claimants were Jeanne of Penthievre, who had married Charles of Blois, and John of Montfort. Charles of Blois, being a nephew of Philip VI., won his case. John of Montfort at once crossed over to England, and promised to recognize Edward III. as king of France and to hold Brittany of him as a fief, if Edward would swear to assist him. Then began one of those wars full of "encounters, fair deeds of arms, and fair prowess," which Froissart relates so enthusi-

astically and so charmingly, but which inflicted terrible misery on the people. Charles of Blois, supported by a numerous French army, captured Nantes and took John of Montfort prisoner. But his countess, Jeanne of Montfort, valiantly maintained his cause in arms.

Little by little the two kings found themselves entangled in these hostilities. In 1342 Edward himself repaired to Brittany and was present at the sieges of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantes. The French assembled a large army to meet him; but at this point the legates of the Pope intervened and induced the acceptance, in January, 1343, of a truce which was to be observed till Michaelmas of 1346.

Expedition of Edward III. to France. — Some time afterward Olivier de Clisson and fourteen Breton knights of the party of the king of England were invited by Philip VI. to a grand tournament at Paris, arrested immediately, and beheaded without trial. Edward undertook to avenge them, and the war began anew, at first in Guienne. In England, Edward had gathered together a considerable armament; but where should he make his attack? In Brittany, the French party had regained the upper hand. Guienne was remote. In Flanders, Arteveld, on suspicion of plotting to deliver up the country to him, had been killed in his house by that same populace of whom he had been the idol. Finally the English fleet sailed for Normandy. The king landed with 32,000 men in July, 1346, at Cape la Hogue. A few days later he captured Caen after some resistance. An attempt upon Rouen failed: he ascended the left bank of the Seine and burnt several towns. His skirmishers even came in sight of Paris, and burned Bourg-la-Reine and St. Cloud.

Meanwhile Philip had assembled a great army and marched against the English. Edward crossed the Seine and retreated upon Ponthieu, to put himself in a position of safety behind the Somme. Philip had had all the fords of this river fortified and guarded. Edward forced the passage of Blanchetaque, but, recognizing that he could retreat no further, stopped, and, on the 27th of August, put his army in battle array on the slope of a hill near Crécy, with his troops in good order and thoroughly rested.

Battle of Crécy (1346). — Philip had set out from Abbeville in the morning to seek the enemy. A heavy rain

accompanied the army during its entire march. When the English were discovered, Philip ordered a halt; but the great lords of France and their undisciplined hosts pushed on, until they found themselves in the presence of the enemy. The English, on seeing them approach, calmly arranged themselves in order of battle.

The rain had injured the bow-strings of the Genoese archers in the French army. When ordered to begin the attack they were very weary with their march, yet they began it with great courage. But the English, who had protected the strings of their cross-bows from the rain, poured upon them a shower of arrows. Edward had mingled with his archers "bombards which, with fire, sent little balls of iron to frighten and destroy the horses: and the firing of these bombards caused such tremblings and noise that it seemed that God was thundering, with great massacre of people and overturning of horses." The Genoese lost courage and began to flee. The men-at-arms behind them, at the king's order, fell upon them. This necessarily caused the loss of the battle, for it produced great confusion, by which the English profited. The blind old King John of Bohemia and his lords rode together into the midst of the enemy and found their death. The French princes, who had brought on the battle by their imprudence, paid for it bravely with their lives. There was one moment at which the efforts of the French seemed not unlikely to succeed. But the arrows of the English archers and the lances of their men-at-arms brought down a great number of knights who, with wearied horses, were in disorder attacking troops well posted and in good condition. Philip of Valois, who had fought bravely, was finally forced by his companions to flee.

Never had France undergone so terrible a defeat. Eleven princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand soldiers remained upon the field of battle, without counting two bodies of soldiers who, separated from the rest, fell next day into the hands of the English and were entirely destroyed.

Siege of Calais; Eustache de St. Pierre (1347). — Edward continued his retreat, for he had no fortified place in which he could stop nor a single port to which reinforcements might come from England. He brought his army before Calais and undertook its siege. The city was strong, and he readily perceived that he could not take it by assault:

he resolved to obtain it by famine. He threw up intrenchments around Calais, in which the English were comfortably established. Philip gathered together an army at Amiens, but with a despairing slowness. It was not ready till the middle of July, 1347: then, finding all openings impracticable or occupied by the enemy, it dispersed. When everything within the place had been consumed, the besieged were forced to appeal to the generosity of the king of England. Edward demanded first that the whole population should surrender at discretion, but finally reduced his demands to this, that six citizens should come, in their shirts, and with halters about their necks, to bring him the keys of the town and place themselves at his disposal. These conditions were reported to the townspeople. "When they heard the report," says Froissart, "they all began to cry and to weep after such a fashion that there is no heart in the world so hard that it would not have been moved to pity. Then after a space arose the richest burgess of the town, who was called Sire Eustache de St. Pierre, and spoke before all thus: 'My lords, great pity and great harm it would be to let die such a people as there is here, by famine or otherwise, when one can find remedy for it: and he should have great mercy and grace before Our Lord who should be able to keep it from such harm. I have so great hope of having grace and pardon before Our Lord if I die to save this people that I will be the first, and will willingly put myself barefoot and with a halter about my neck at the mercy of the king of England.' When Sire Eustache de St. Pierre had said this word, every one came and did reverence unto him of pity, and many men and women cast themselves at his feet, weeping tenderly."

Five others arose and declared their willingness to share in his self-devotion. The six were led before King Edward. Regarding them with bitter resentment, he sternly ordered that they should be beheaded. "All the lords and knights that were there, weeping, prayed the king as earnestly as they could that he would have pity and mercy upon them: but he would not hear of it. Then did the noble queen of England a deed of great humility, being great with child, and weeping so tenderly for pity, that she could not stand upright. She threw herself on her knees before the king her lord, and said: 'Ah, gentle sir, since I crossed the sea in great peril, as you know, I have not asked or besought

anything of you. Now I humbly pray and desire of you as a gift that for the Son of St. Mary and for the love of me, you will have mercy upon these six men.' The king listened a little, and looked at the good lady his wife, who was weeping on her knees very tenderly, and his heart softened, and he said: 'Ah, lady, I had much rather that you had been elsewhere than here. You pray me so earnestly that I dare not refuse you; and although I do it unwillingly, see, I give them to you. Do your pleasure with them.'"

Subsequently Edward ordered all the inhabitants to evacuate the town, and repopled it with English. Soon after, Pope Clement VI. offered his mediation. In September, 1347, the two kings signed a truce, to last ten months, leaving each in possession of what he then had.

The Black Death (1348). — To the calamities of war was now added a still more terrible scourge. The Black Death, after having ravaged the greater part of Europe, arrived in France. "In many places," says a chronicler, "of twenty men there remained only two alive. In the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris the mortality was so great that for a long time five hundred corpses were carried out each day in carts to the cemetery of the Innocents." The people accused the Jews of having poisoned the fountains and wells, and attacked and massacred them in several towns. The Black Death is said to have destroyed a third part of the inhabitants of Europe; at Paris, according to a report made to Pope Clement VI., it carried off eighty thousand persons.

Internal Administration; Acquisitions. — Philip instituted a tax called *gabelle*. An ordinance of 1343 decreed that no one should sell any salt in France save such as had been bought at the storehouses of the king at a price fixed by him. Duties on exports were raised, and another tax, ruinous to commerce, was imposed on all provisions sold in the interior and on articles of drink in the towns. The king's counsellors continued their war on privileges. In 1329 was instituted the *appel comme d'abus*, which permitted appeals to the king from the sentences of bishops and recourse to him for redress of abuses committed by clerks. In 1338 an assembly of the States-General ordained the following article: "The king shall raise no extraordinary taxes from the people without the vote of the three estates, and he shall take oath thereto at his coronation." This was a proclama-

tion of the great principle that the people should pay only those taxes to which their representatives had given consent. Philip VI., to escape from this obligation, made frequent resort to debasement of the coinage.

One of the last acts of Philip VI. was the important acquisition of the province of Dauphiny. Humbert II., dauphin of Vienne, sold his estates to Philip in 1349. The eldest son of the king of France, from that time on, bore the title of Dauphin. The new province covered Lyons and brought the frontier of France at last to the Alps. The annexation of Provence was thenceforth only a question of time. Montpellier was also bought of the king of Majorca.

Gunpowder. — At the moment when the kings obtained absolute power they received important aid from a new invention. Roger Bacon had invented, or at least first made known, the composition of gunpowder, which had long been known to the Orientals, and which the Arabs used in Spain in the thirteenth century. The first mention of it which has been found in France occurs in the year 1338. The cannon of the time, composed of iron bands fastened together, were very imperfect. But soon no town, no fortress, will be able to shelter feudal independence from the king's artillery, and the least of foot-soldiers, armed with arquebuss, will overthrow the most powerful lord in spite of his hitherto impenetrable Milan armor.

CHAPTER XXIX.

JOHN THE GOOD.

(1350-1364 A.D.)

King John; Charles the Bad.—The death of Philip of Valois, in 1350, made no change in the situation of the king. John, who succeeded him, was, like his father, impetuous and violent, brave and extravagant, altogether an ill sort of a king. Such was his prodigality to the courtiers, that money was soon wanting: to procure it, the king had recourse to the most singular expedients: among them, alterations in the coinage, even to the number of eighteen in a single year, so that the silver mark sometimes varied more than a hundred per cent in a month. These singular expedients were still far from sufficing, and John was obliged to convoke the States-General at Paris in 1351. Many complaints were made, some promises, but no reforms.

Beside the two princes who disputed the title of king of France, there was a third who claimed to have more right to it than either of the others,—the turbulent, intriguing Charles the Bad, king of Navarre. Son of the daughter of Louis X., he would have inherited the crown but for the alleged Salic law. Meanwhile he claimed Champagne and Angoumois; and Angoumois having been given to one of the king's friends, he caused him to be assassinated. John then seized his fiefs in Normandy, and Charles crossed over to England. The English had gained so much by their former expedition that they were ready to return to France. Edward conducted them thither by way of Calais in 1355, and ravaged Artois. His son, the Black Prince, entered France by way of Bordeaux, and plundered Languedoc. John did not engage in a single battle, but his expenditures compelled him again to summon the States-General.

States-General of 1355.—The deputies were indignant at the frightful mismanagement to which the finances of the state had been subjected, and urgently demanded reforms: the establishment of an invariable coinage and the suppres-

sion of the exercise of the right of purveyance by the king's officers. The states engaged to furnish the king at once with thirty thousand soldiers and five million *livres parisis* to pay them for a year, by a tax falling on all classes alike; insisting, however, that both the raising of the sum and its expenditure should be supervised by commissioners appointed by them. This was nothing less than a revolution: for to vote and raise the taxes, to regulate and supervise their expenditure, was to exercise a considerable portion of sovereignty.

The idea of paying a tax was very abhorrent to the nobles. The king of Navarre, now again in France, and the Count of Harcourt formed a cabal against it. John arrested them himself at the table of his son in Rouen, threw the king of Navarre into prison, and beheaded the Count of Harcourt.

Battle of Poitiers (1356); Captivity of the King.—Meanwhile the Prince of Wales had again taken the field with two thousand men-at-arms and six thousand archers, had crossed the Garonne and the Dordogne, and sacked and ravaged Rouergue, Auvergne, Limousin and Berry. The king of France crossed the Loire and arrived at Poitiers in advance of the English army, so that he cut off its retreat to Bordeaux. The Black Prince, on approaching Poitiers, took his station on the summit of a steep slope planted with vines and traversed by thick hedges and bushes, and fortified himself with palisades and ditches. It was impossible to reach the top of this declivity on horseback save by a path which scarcely afforded room for three horsemen abreast. The prince placed archers in the hedges which bordered this path: upon the height, dismounting his men-at-arms, he ranged them in order of battle, while before them he scattered the remainder of his archers in the vineyards.

King John had under his command one of the most brilliant armies ever raised in France. Without counting his four sons, he had with him twenty-six dukes and counts, one hundred and forty bannerets, and about fifty thousand soldiers, of whom a large number were mailed knights. He had only to avoid fighting, and the English would have been starved into submission. He wished, however, to efface the shame of Crécy; but in fact, he doubled it (September 19, 1356).

The two marshals of France, at the head of three hundred

picked knights, rode forward into the narrow way which led to the heights; but the English footmen suddenly attacked them from the hedges with showers of arrows, then advanced from their ambush and slew the dismounted knights. In a little while this whole body was defeated; and the fugitives, hurled back against the body which the dauphin commanded, threw it into disorder and panic. The Prince of Wales took advantage of this moment to charge with six hundred men-at-arms upon the flank of this shattered column, cut it in two, and dispersed it. The dauphin and his brothers fled with their escorts; the second division, commanded by the Duke of Orleans, followed their example.

Two-thirds of the French army were already routed without having fought; but the third division, commanded by the king, was still twice as numerous as the whole English army. But John's unskilful management and the impetuous charge of the Black Prince neutralized these advantages. The king and his youngest son Philip fought desperately, but finally surrendered. The French left eleven thousand dead upon the field of battle. The English had lost but twenty-five hundred, and held as captives thirteen counts, an archbishop, seventy barons, and two thousand men-at-arms, without counting prisoners of less importance. As for the principal captive, the Prince of Wales treated him with distinguished respect. Impatient to put his immense booty and his captives in a place of security, he repaired to Bordeaux and soon to London.

States-General of 1356 and 1357; Étienne Marcel; the Dauphin Charles. — The news of this disaster threw the whole country into consternation and rage; for after having undergone the shame of such a defeat, there were also the ransoms to be raised. The excitement was already great when the dauphin Charles arrived at Paris, ten days after the battle. He took the title of lieutenant of the king of France, and assembled the States-General. The assembly was composed of about eight hundred persons: of these, the Third Estate numbered more than four hundred, among whom the most active and the ablest was Étienne Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris. The deputies, angered at the mismanagement of the royal government, assumed its place and demanded the institution of a council of prelates, knights, and burgesses, drawn from the number of the States, who should henceforward assist the dauphin in

the administration of the kingdom. The dauphin, terrified, adjourned the assembly. But the treasury was empty, and it was necessary to convoke it again. The provost, Etienne Marcel, and the bishop of Laon then made statement of grievances. In March, 1357, at a general assembly, the bishop of Laon demanded of the prince that he should remove from his person twenty-two of his counsellors and servants accused of malversation, and give security against the revival of abuses. The most important demand was that the States-General should be given the power to assemble twice a year without other summons, to see to it that the laws were observed, and that they should have the right to name thirty-six commissioners, twelve from each order, who in the absence of the States should assist the dauphin in the defence of the kingdom. Other *élus* should be sent into the provinces to raise the taxes, pay the royal officers, assemble the provincial estates, etc. On these conditions, they offered a subsidy adequate for the raising and maintenance of thirty thousand men, reserving, nevertheless, to their own officers the keeping and disbursement of the money. The accord of the three estates in these commands made all resistance impossible, and the great ordinance of March, 1357, in sixty-one articles, met the demands of the estates, at the same time improving the administration of justice and forbidding purveyance.

In this series of measures many were excellent; but the ordinance of reform, prepared by some few intelligent deputies, represented neither the work nor the thought nor even the desire of France.

Murder of the Dauphin's Ministers (1358); Civil War. — Moreover, one could not hope that royalty, but lately absolute, should consent to abdicate. In April the dauphin, by order of his father, forbade all subjects of the realm to pay the aid decreed by the estates. He then revoked the ordinance, and declared that he would henceforth govern alone and have no more guardians. Finally, in February, 1358, he published an ordinance, altering the value of the coinage. Exasperation was immediately manifested in Paris. The provost of the merchants assembled all the trades in arms. He marched with them toward the dauphin's hotel and demanded of him that he should at least devote himself to the defence of the kingdom and protect his people, abandoned to the rapacity of the soldiers. Sharp words

were interchanged. Finally Marcel gave the word to his followers, and they rushed upon the marshals of Champagne and Normandy, the principal counsellors of the dauphin, and slew them so near him that his robe was spattered with their blood. Charles, terrified, besought Marcel to spare him. The provost assured him that he was in no danger; but he placed upon his head his own parti-colored cap of red and blue, the colors of Paris, and then immediately went to report, from the Hôtel de Ville, to the assembled people, what had been done. The bourgeoisie of Paris was about to enter into a contest against all the rest of the state. The nobility showed lively indignation against these burgesses who wished to rule all and whose plebeian hands had just shed illustrious blood. When the dauphin went to hold the provincial estates, the nobility offered him its services against the rebels of Paris, and he accepted them. Civil war began. The dauphin assembled seven thousand lances, and with them lived upon the country. Marcel had seized the castle of the Louvre; he had the fortifications of Paris repaired and completed, a ditch dug, ballistæ and cannon placed upon the ramparts, chains placed in all the streets, and mercenaries hired.

The Jacquerie (1358).—While nobles and burgesses attacked each other, the peasants rose in revolt. Upon them pressed almost the entire weight of the misfortunes of the country. The villages were the prey of the most insignificant partisan chiefs. After the enemy had passed through in pursuit of booty came the friendly troops, who pillaged for maintenance; and the lords took the rest. They seized the furniture, harvests, cattle, and implements. After the vexations of the lords came those of the soldiers, released from service by the cessation of hostilities, but unwilling to renounce so lucrative a trade. The peasant, hitherto indifferent to the general affairs of the state, began to understand that the great battles were engaged in and lost at his expense.

So when the peasants learned that the burgesses had begun war against the nobles, they believed it a good opportunity to take vengeance for their long sufferings. They armed, joined, and attacked the castles. Then the most frightful scenes occurred; there was no mercy shown to age or sex: they tortured their prisoners, outraged the most noble women, even burned up little children, and left only

ashes and blood where they had passed. The nobles, surprised at first, gathered together, and an atrocious war began.

Marcel joined hands with the *Jacques*; and when they marched against the nobles at Meaux, he sent them two companies of citizen soldiery: the people of the town also made common cause with them. Thus began the union of the people of the towns with those of the country. But Meaux had a fortress which held out stoutly. The *Jacques* were defeated, then followed up into all localities, and exterminated in frightful massacres.

Marcel and Charles the Bad.—Marcel had released from prison Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, and induced the city of Paris to confer upon him the title of Captain. But Charles, who had all the barons' disdain of commoners and peasants, was a dangerous ally. In July, 1358, the dauphin threatening the Porte St. Antoine, the provost of the merchants begged the king of Navarre to repulse the enemy. Charles the Bad rode out from Paris; but instead of attacking the dauphin, he held a long conference with him: he was promised full satisfaction for all his grievances and four hundred thousand florins if he would deliver up the city and Marcel. Word came to Paris of these negotiations. The cry of treason was raised. Charles the Bad was deprived of his title of captain, and left the city with his troops.

Death of Marcel (1358).—The situation of Étienne Marcel became critical. Provisions began to fail. A band of the citizens was attacked outside the walls by the king of Navarre, and seven hundred of them slain. They laid the blame of it upon their chief, who had entered before them, and accused him of having an understanding with the enemy. The bold and able provost was pushed to more desperate courses from day to day. He promised Charles the Bad to deliver up to him the gate and bastion of St. Denis, in order that the prince might make himself master of Paris and massacre those opposed to him and, probably, have himself proclaimed king. The execution of the plot was fixed for midnight of the 31st of July. But one of the magistrates had discovered these designs and countermined them by another plot. He negotiated with two leaders of the dauphin's party, and the three, with their men, went a little before midnight to the Porte St. Denis, where they

found the provost of the merchants with the keys of the gate in his hands, and after a brief altercation slew him upon the spot.

The Dauphin enters Paris again. — Two days after, the dauphin was readmitted into Paris. The victory of the royal party was complete: the king of Navarre himself made his peace, and Paris, after many executions, seemed to become again the loyal and submissive city that it had been before. But the remembrance of the time when the burghesses had dared to speak face to face with their master of justice and of good administration, was not lost. The crown had received a lesson: John and Charles V. gave up the practice of tampering with the coinage, and the latter attempted to make the States-General needless, by instituting reforms.

State of the Kingdom. — The situation of the kingdom seemed desperate. English and French freebooters traversed the country. The country people were reduced to turning the towers of their churches into fortresses. At night they withdrew to boats moored in the midst of the streams or into subterranean hiding-places. Labor was paralyzed; the harvest felt the effects, and famine threatened the country.

Meanwhile there was talk of peace. John had made a treaty with the king of England by which he abandoned to him the coast of the Channel, including Normandy; all Aquitaine, Touraine, and Anjou; also he promised four million gold crowns for the personal ransom of the king. It was the best half of France with the mouths of all her rivers. When this treaty was brought to Paris, the dauphin refused to carry it into effect, and convoked a sort of assembly of the three estates, which rejected the shameful agreement.

The Invasion of 1359; New Mode of Defence. — In October, 1359, Edward disembarked at Calais with his four sons, the principal lords of his kingdom, and six thousand mailed men-at-arms, with supplies and appointments of the most complete description. The weather was unpropitious to the expedition; it rained incessantly. Arriving before Rheims, where Edward had long before announced that he would be anointed king, they passed seven weeks before its walls, unable to take it, but hoping each day that they would be attacked and would gain a great victory, as at Crécy and Poitiers. Finally, no one coming, they resumed their march,

going across country toward Burgundy. Thence Edward turned directly toward Paris, and lodged two leagues from the city, at Bourg-la-Reine. The English heralds offered battle to the dauphin, but he refused it. He wished no more of such warfare as the nobles had hitherto conducted.

So the burgesses, secure behind the walls of their towns, the nobles in their castles, let the storm pass by. The whole brunt fell upon the peasants, who hardly dared to defend themselves. Yet their misery finally gave them courage, and despair lent them strength. They at last ventured to face these men in mail, before whom they had been accustomed to tremble; and at several places the foreign aggressor began to encounter local popular resistance, more dangerous to him than great battles. Edward himself grew weary of a war in which no glory was to be had, because there were no battles; no booty, because all had been either captured already or concealed in the fortresses.

Treaty of Bretigny (1360). — The dauphin was still more desirous of sending the English home. Negotiations were opened at Bretigny, near Chartres, in May, 1360. The English negotiators at first claimed the crown of France; but finally Edward contented himself with the duchy of Aquitaine and all its dependencies, given as an independent sovereignty, and Calais with the counties of Ponthieu and Guines and the viscounty of Montreuil. The king's ransom was fixed at the enormous sum of three million gold crowns. As guarantee of this sum John was to allow Edward to choose a certain number of hostages taken from among the noblest lords and richest burgesses of the kingdom. The provinces promised to the king of England were delivered up to him, in spite of the protests made by the majority of their inhabitants against this pretended restitution. It remained to find the money for the first instalment of the ransom. It was procured by a shameful expedient. "The king of France," says the historian Matteo Villani, "sold his own flesh and blood." For six hundred thousand florins he gave his young daughter Isabella to the son of the most ferocious tyrant of Italy, Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

Last Acts of King John. — Immediately upon his return, John decreed the levy of a new tax upon all merchandise sold or exported, of a tax on salt, and a tax on wine: in return for these he promised henceforth to give good justice, to put none but good money in circulation, to abolish pur-

veyance and other abuses which bore hard upon the poor. These promises deceived no one; nor did the tax suffice. It became necessary to have recourse to other expedients, — to borrow, to revoke all the grants made by preceding kings since Philip the Fair, and to give the Jews considerable privileges in return for payments. With the money thus obtained, the king, instead of suppressing brigandage, journeyed at great expense from town to town, to take possession of the rich inheritance of the Capetian house of Burgundy, which the death of Philippe de Rouvre had just put in his possession. Thence he went down to Avignon, where he spent six months in festivities. But learning that one of his sons, the Duke of Anjou, had escaped from the English, with whom he had been left as a hostage, John, in obedience to chivalrous sentiments of honor, resolved to go and deliver himself up in place of his son. He returned to London, and died there in 1364, at the age of forty-four.

One of his last acts, more fatal to France than the battle of Poitiers, was to cede to his son, Philip the Bold, the duchy of Burgundy, which in the next century nearly caused the ruin of the kingdom.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHARLES V. THE WISE.

(1364-1380 A.D.)

The Re-establishment of Order. — John's son, Charles V., rightly surnamed the Wise, was then twenty-seven years old. His previous conduct had not been of a sort to inspire great hopes. At Poitiers he had been among the first to flee: as a politician he had not played a more honorable part at Paris during the revolution. The weakness of his constitution, his studious tastes, even his moral qualities, did not give evidence of an ability to repair the misfortunes of the previous reign. But around the king was gathered a group of captains, two illustrious Bretons, Bertrand Duguesclin and Oliver De Clisson, Boucicaut, and others. They were not such knights as the paladins of the preceding age: they knew how to strike vigorously with the sword, but they knew also other things. They were the first for many generations in France who perceived that war is an art: they studied its stratagems, cared little for the scruples of honor which caused the defeats of Crécy and Poitiers, and set in their place skilfulness, shrewdness, even deception sometimes, but also victory and the benefits of victory. And King Charles V. knew how to make use of such captains, ably directing them from his cabinet, in a war of a quite new sort, little glorious in outward appearance, but very profitable in reality, and which was to result in the territorial reconstruction of the kingdom.

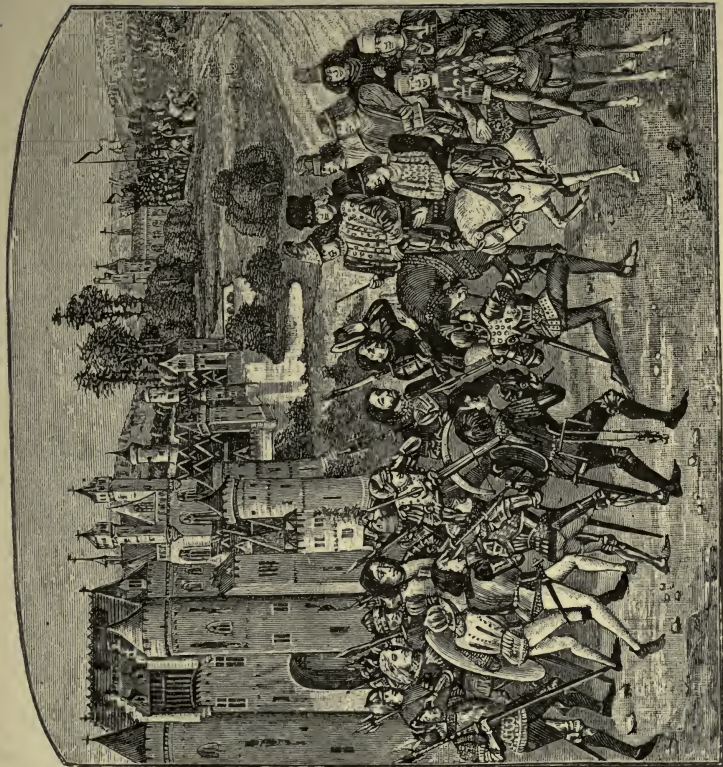
The treaty of Bretigny had not settled all difficulties. Charles the Bad maintained his claims and his animosities. Brittany had not ended its war of succession; and the kingdom was terribly plagued with the *grandes compagnies*. Charles V. attacked separately each of these three important matters.

Transactions with the King of Navarre; Duguesclin. — The Norman fiefs of Charles the Bad aroused in the king the most serious uneasiness. With his two towns of Mantes

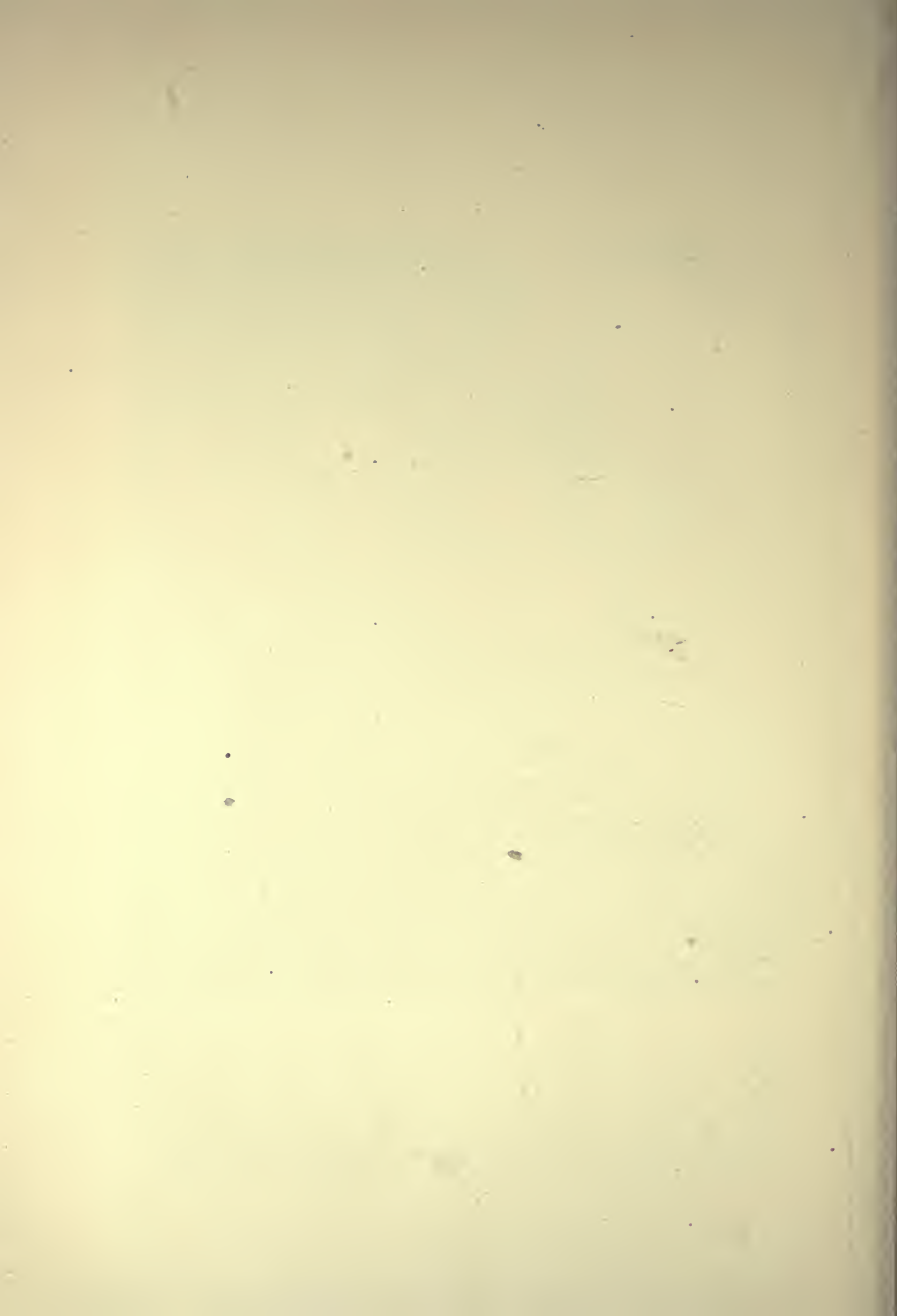
and Meulan he barred the Seine and might thus bring the English into the very heart of France. Charles resolved to take them away from him; and this first war was managed as all other wars were to be managed during this reign. His officers took possession of Mantes and Meulan by treacherous stratagem. Charles of Navarre, to avenge himself, sent into Normandy an army of Navarrese, English, and Gascons, under the orders of the Captal de Buch. Duguesclin also appeared with a thousand men-at-arms and a body of archers, outwitted the Captal, defeated him in battle, and took him prisoner. Charles the Bad hastened to make terms, and accepted the essential condition which the king of France offered him; namely, the exchange of his Norman fiefs for the barony of Montpellier, where at any rate he would be remote from the English.

End of the War in Brittany (1365).—The war in Brittany dragged on until the battle of Auray in 1364. The kings of France and England had reserved a right to aid, without infringing the treaty, the two claimants who disputed the possession of the duchy. In virtue of this singular stipulation, the king of France put a thousand lances and his good captain Bertrand Duguesclin at the service of Charles of Blois, and John of Montfort received from the Prince of Wales two hundred lances, two hundred archers, and a considerable number of knights, under the brave and wary Chandos. The battle took place near Auray. The English and Montfort won the day. Duguesclin, in spite of all his valor and skill, was taken prisoner, and could escape only by paying a ransom of a hundred thousand livres (six million francs of present money). Charles of Blois was killed, with most of the great lords who accompanied him. This defeat of the French party in Brittany was not, however, attended with fatal consequences. The king entered into negotiations. By the treaty of Guérande (1365) John of Montfort was recognized as Duke of Brittany: the widow of Charles of Blois received only the county of Penthievre and the viscounty of Limoges. Duke John, restored by the English, nevertheless came to Paris in 1366, and did homage to Charles V., it being left undetermined whether this homage was liege homage or not; that is, whether the duke did or did not owe the king service against all persons.

The Grandes Compagnies; the French in Castile (1366).
—With the cessation of hostilities in Normandy and in



THE ARMED PARISIANS COMING OUT TO MEET THE KING.
From Mss. in the National Library.



Brittany, another scourge made itself felt still more keenly ; namely, the *grandes compagnies* of freebooters, whose numbers were increased by all the discharged soldiers. To rid the country of them, an attempt was made to send them off upon a crusade. Another enterprise suited them better. Castile was then groaning under the tyranny of Pedro the Cruel, who had poisoned his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, sister-in-law of the king of France. So, when a natural brother of Pedro, Henry of Trastamare, claimed the protection of France, Charles V. eagerly offered him for his assistance in overthrowing his brother the *grandes compagnies*, which were put under the command of Bertrand Duguesclin, ransomed from captivity for this purpose. No battle occurred. Abandoned by all, Pedro fled to the Moors of Granada, thence to Portugal, thence to Bordeaux, where he urged the English to restore him : he promised to deliver to the Black Prince the whole province of Biscay and six hundred thousand florins, which he had concealed in secret repositories. The English prince recalled to his army the English and Gascon adventurers who were with Duguesclin, crossed the Pyrenees at the head of a large army, and reached the Ebro without trouble : but the difficulty was, to obtain subsistence in these impoverished provinces. If Henry had had the wisdom not to fight, the English army would have been destroyed by famine. In spite of the prayers of Duguesclin he engaged in battle near Najara (1367), where the Black Prince and his ally gained a decided victory. Duguesclin was again a prisoner, Henry of Trastamare driven out, Pedro restored, and the Prince of Wales found himself master of a large part of Spain.

The Black Prince in Guienne. — But after the victory, difficulties began anew. Subsistence had to be obtained, and everything was lacking. The treasures, deceitfully promised by Pedro, nowhere appeared. The English and their prince began to suffer in health. He decided to cross the mountains again into Guienne. The Gascons loudly demanded their pay. Far from being able to give them money, the prince was obliged to ask them for it. He assembled the estates of Gascony and announced to them that he was about to impose a considerable tax upon their lands. The estates replied that they would not pay it. The counts of Armagnac and of Périgord and several other barons of the province repaired to Paris and appealed to

King Charles against the conduct of the Prince of Wales. The appeal was received, and early in the year 1369 a criminal judge and a knight appeared at Bordeaux, and summoned the Black Prince to appear at Paris before the Court of Peers to answer to these complaints. "We will willingly appear at Paris," replied the prince, "since so the king of France commands us; but it shall be with bassinet on head and with sixty thousand men at our back."

Prudent Conduct of Charles V. — What had given the prudent Charles the boldness to take this decisive step was, that he was ready, and his enemies were not. A wise economy had enabled him to make great reductions of taxation, on condition that the towns should fortify themselves. He had organized in many places citizen companies of cross-bowmen. Finally, in 1369, he had brought enough money into his treasury, enough order into the administration of the country, enough discipline into his armies, to venture to renew the war. Edward III., on the other hand, had thought only of enjoying his glory, or had engaged in enterprises which scattered his forces and increased the number of his enemies. He treated Scotland with insulting arrogance; he laid claim to the county of Flanders in behalf of one of his sons; he supported in Castile an odious tyrant, and threatened the independence of Spain. Charles V. carefully cemented anew the old and valuable alliance between Scotland and France; he wedded his brother Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, to the heiress of the Flemish provinces; he drew over to his side the king of Navarre, hitherto undecided, and in Castile overthrew Pedro the Cruel, the protégé of England. Duguesclin defeated Pedro at the battle of Montiel (March, 1369), and replaced upon the throne of Castile, Henry of Trastamare, who in gratitude put the navy of Castile at the disposal of France.

This series of alliances having been formed, the moment had come for France at last to repudiate the shameful treaty of Bretigny. In order to put the appearance of right on his side, Charles V., in May, 1369, summoned the States-General to Paris and laid before them the dispute between him and the king of England. The states gave him cordial support; the court of peers, consulted in its turn, declared that King Edward and his son not having appeared before them, the duchy of Aquitaine and his other lands in France ought to be and were confiscated.

English Invasion. — Immediately the English landed at Calais, while the Black Prince prepared to make another attack in the South. A French army advanced against them, but refused battle, and retired as they advanced. The cities were well defended, none were taken, and the expedition was forced to confine itself to useless ravages of the country districts. They returned in 1370: the same system was inexorably maintained. "Never was there king of France who fought less," said Edward III., "and yet never was there king who gave me so much trouble." Charles V., in fact, feeble and in ill health, never took the lance; he preferred books. He had the finest library of the time, nine hundred and ten volumes, carefully guarded in a tower of the Louvre. Every year he read through the entire Bible. He maintained a correspondence with the Pope, and sent him presents. So pious a king of course had as his allies all the bishops of the kingdom; and indeed most of them opened to him the gates of their episcopal cities. Even those upon whom the English had most entirely relied, such as the bishop of Limoges, the friend of the Prince of Wales, turned French, as the phrase then ran. This last defection exasperated the English. The Black Prince swore to have vengeance on Limoges. Taking the town by assault, he put the inhabitants to the sword; more than three thousand persons, men, women and children, were slaughtered that day. This dreadful exploit was the last achievement of the Black Prince (1370). He languished for some years and died in England (1376).

Decisive Successes of Charles V. — The English had an excellent body of infantry, archers whose arrows pierced the best armor, and men-at-arms who were almost as good as a regular cavalry, such was their spirit of discipline and their habit of concerted movement. Charles had to oppose them only a great throng of nobles, who, though brave, were quite undisciplined. It was the part of wisdom, therefore, to avoid fighting with large armies: but in the interval between great expeditions he willingly allowed his knights, especially his brave Duguesclin, whom he had made constable, to engage in some military exploits. The French, therefore, were not always retreating. Moreover, the king had his own kind of warfare, drawing over town after town by promise of commercial and other privileges. In the case of cities whose gates could not be opened by royal conces-

sions, his captains applied their stratagems, fighting and negotiating. In 1372 Poitiers was recovered by the secret negotiations of Duguesclin, and Rochelle by means of a stratagem on the part of its mayor. Some weeks before, the Castilian fleet had defeated an English fleet before Rochelle.

But the obstinate enemy reappeared in 1373. Disembarking at Calais with thirty thousand men, the Duke of Lancaster expected to conquer France; but could only traverse it. His march was successful as long as he remained in the rich provinces of the North; but in the poor and desolated central provinces sufferings and diseases began, and when he arrived at Bordeaux he had but six thousand men. Disgusted with such warfare, the English did not return the next year; the year after, they asked for a truce, which was prolonged until the death of Edward III. in 1377. Charles then broke the truce and struck direct blows. He put five armies in the field, and conquered all Guienne, while a Castilian fleet, carrying French soldiers, ravaged the coast of Kent and Sussex. In 1380 there remained to the English only Bayonne, Bordeaux, Brest, Cherbourg, and Calais.

Attempt upon Brittany (1378); Cession of French Flanders.

— The king of France attempted in Brittany that which had succeeded so well in Guienne. In 1378 he summoned Duke John IV. to appear before the court of peers, and, as the duke did not appear, his fief was declared forfeited to the king. But the Gascons had given themselves up to France, while the Bretons had no notion of being subjected. Barons, knights, and squires signed at Rennes, in 1379, an act of confederation to which even the burgesses subscribed. John IV., at first driven out of the country, was recalled. All the Bretons engaged in the service of the king of France — and they were a large number — abandoned him. Old Duguesclin himself returned the constable's sword to him, and in March, 1380, a treaty of alliance was signed between England and Brittany. An English army landed at Calais, and again marched through the whole North of France unmolested. It had not reached Brittany when Charles V. died at Vincennes, in September, 1380.

In 1369, to facilitate the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy, his brother, with the heiress of the county of Flanders, Charles had given up French Flanders to him. He

had indeed demanded of his brother an agreement, by which the duke engaged to restore this grant after the death of his father-in-law. But the Count of Flanders survived the king, and Philip the Bold easily obtained from Charles VI. a release from his promise. Thus Lille was lost to France for three centuries.

Government of Charles V.—The unwearied patience which won Charles his conquests, his rigid economy, a probity hitherto unknown in the management of finances, and useful regulations for the administration of the kingdom, have obtained for him the surname of The Wise. He made Parliament permanent, and gave up to it the old palace of St. Louis, which became the Palais de Justice. An ordinance of Charles V. fixed at the age of thirteen years the attainment of majority by the kings of France; another separated the regency from the guardianship of a king, in order that the regent might not have at once both the young king and the kingdom in his power; another, to prevent the dismemberment of the *domaine royale*, gave the king's sons pensions instead of appanages.

The corporations began to be an oppressive element in industrial society, as the communes had been in political society. Charles attempted to establish the freedom of industry; but habits were stronger than the law, and the project was abandoned. In 1370 he published an ordinance authorizing the citizens of Paris to wear gold spurs and the other insignia of chivalry; another, in 1377, granted nobility to the provosts and councillors of the city. Attacking feudal prerogatives on another side, he ordered the demolition of many castles, on the pretext that they might serve as strongholds for the English, and permitted forcible resistance against those who should exercise the right of purveyance in a manner contrary to the ordinances; that is, without paying for the forage which they took and the carts of which they made use. An ordinance of 1372 reserved to the crown the exclusive right to issue charters for communes, other municipal franchises, and patents of nobility.

Finance.—There are shadows in the pictures of this reign, in general so restorative. Charles crushed out the spirit of liberty. For his wars, his constructions, and his negotiations, he needed much money, and he made the burdens of taxation still more heavy: if the permanence of the

land tax (the *taille*) is due to his grandson, that of the indirect taxes (the *aides*) was established by him. It is only fair to add that the *aides*, levied upon articles of consumption, bore indirectly upon all alike, the noble and the ecclesiastic as well as the commoner. But he was the first to compel each family to buy at the royal storehouses the quantity of salt which it was supposed to require. Instead of paying a salary to the members of Parliament, he gave them for their pay the fines which they might impose.

The States-General of 1356-57 had instituted commissaries-general, and under them *élus*, for the assessment and levy of the taxes. Charles V. maintained these officers as royal functionaries. The *élus* watched over the assessment as well as the levy of the taxes, and judged in the first instance contentious cases in financial affairs: the *commissaries-general for finance* had general supervision of the receipts, and the *commissaries-general for justice* judged in the last resort cases concerning taxes. These last formed the *Cour des Aides*, which received its final form from Charles VII.

Public Works; Literature. — In spite of his economy, Charles V. was a great builder. He began the Bastille, repaired and enlarged the wall of Paris and the Louvre of Philip Augustus; he erected the Hôtel St. Pol, etc. He planned a union of the Loire and the Seine by canal, a project which was carried out two centuries later by Henry IV. He encouraged letters, caused the Bible, Aristotle, St. Augustine, and Livy to be translated, and had several important treatises composed. His collection of nine hundred and ten volumes was the germ of the royal library, and he established at Paris a college of astronomy and medicine. Chief among the writers of the time was Froissart, a Fleming (1337-1410), who spent his life at the courts of the princes and nobles of England as well as of France, taking down from their lips the picturesque tales which he has preserved to us. His book is one of the most precious monuments of the French language and of French history. But we must not expect of him either very high morality or very strong patriotism. The historian of Charles V. was Christine de Pisan, daughter of the king's astrologer. Her book, far inferior to those of Froissart or Comines, yet marks the transition from the one to the other.

In spite of Froissart and the king's patronage of letters,

the age is none the less an age of decadence, a time of stoppage in the progress of the world: there were no more high thoughts, no more great teachers; intellectual force and moral force were both lessened. The Middle Ages were already in their decline.

The Great Schism. — The double election of Urban VI. and Clement VII. in 1378 began the Western schism, which lasted seventy-eight years, divided Christianity into two great factions, and prepared the way for the Reformation. France, especially the University of Paris, made the most laudable efforts to restore unity and peace in the Church.

Maritime Discoveries. — In this reign, and consequently long before the Portuguese, the men of Dieppe, who then had an extensive commerce, discovered Guinea, from which they brought back pepper, gold dust and ivory. In 1400 the Norman Jean de Béthencourt formed a settlement in the Canaries.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHARLES VI.

(1380-1422.)

The Royal Family.—The death of Charles V. at the early age of forty-three was a calamity to the country; for his eldest son was not yet twelve years old, and this child was entirely in the power of his uncles, the dukes of Anjou, of Burgundy, and of Berry, selfish princes,—the first, notorious for his cruelty as governor of Languedoc, interested only in securing the kingdom of Naples; the second, in Flanders, of which he was the heir; the third, in his amusements and his treasures. Charles VI. had, on his mother's side, a fourth uncle, the Duke of Bourbon, an excellent prince, who had, however, no influence: also a brother, the duke of Orleans.

Rapacity of the King's Uncles; Revolts.—Scarcely had Charles died when the Duke of Anjou seized his treasures. His brothers also seized what they could: the Duke of Burgundy assumed the government of Normandy and Picardy; the Duke of Berry took Languedoc and Aquitaine. He already had Berry, Auvergne, and Poitou as appanages. Thus the third part of the kingdom was delivered up to his rapacity.

The beginning of a new reign was always a moment of hope. The abolition of certain taxes was demanded, and the duke promised to suppress all those which had been established since the time of Philip the Fair. One might as well have promised to abandon the task of governing France. The regent had no notion of keeping his word. A tax on all merchandise sold was, in fact, proclaimed. The tax-gatherers appeared in the market. A furious tumult arose. The insurgents rushed to the Hôtel de Ville, to the Arsenal, and seized for weapons some new mallets which had been stored there in view of an attack by the English.

The *maillotins* were for a moment masters of the town. But soon the prince gained the upper hand, caused the

most seditious to be secretly executed, and inflicted upon the others ruinous fines, with the proceeds of which the Duke of Anjou set out from Italy. But the new tax was withdrawn.

The Parisian outbreak spread rapidly to other towns. The Duke of Berry had scarcely appeared in his province of Languedoc when a revolt broke out there. He put it down with much cruelty, and the peasants began anew a sort of jacquerie. They fled to the Cevennes, and thence made raids upon the nobles and the rich, showing no quarter to those who had not callous hands. They were called the *tuchins*.

War in Flanders; Battle of Roosebeke (1382).—The Flemings had risen at the end of the preceding reign against their French count, who had violated the municipal liberties of the country. Pierre Dubois and Philip Arteveld, the son of the famous James, had with success directed the insurrection of the White Hoods, and the battle of Bruges in May, 1382, had overthrown the last hopes of Count Louis. Deputies entrusted with full powers by the cities of Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges had gone to King Richard II. of England, and had offered to recognize him as king of France if he would give them assistance. It seemed as though, for a quarter of a century, the spirit of revolt was everywhere arising in Europe among the citizen class. There was the rising of Rienzi at Rome, that of Wat Tyler in England, and Étienne Marcel, and the *jacques*, the *maillotins*, the *tuchins*, the White Hoods.

The king of France set out for Flanders with a large army. At his approach all the Flemish cities made their submission, and the men of Ghent had no resource but to make a desperate attack, which they did at Roosebeke in November, 1382. Tied one to another, in order to make sure of not retreating, they advanced in a single phalanx. This manœuvre had succeeded at Bruges in the fight against a less numerous host. But now the wings of the great French army swung around and attacked the phalanx upon its flanks. The lances of the knights were longer than the Flemish spears, and the Flemings were unable to reach their enemies. Disorder soon became general in their ranks. At the end there were twenty-six thousand dead upon the field, including the entire phalanx of Ghent, and Arteveld among them. Flanders was not overcome, for the men of

Ghent still held out for two years longer. But the nobility had at last avenged the shame of its defeat at Courtray.

Executions at Paris and at Rouen. — The Parisian insurrection, as well as the revolt of Ghent, had been defeated at Roosebeke. The Parisians perceived that they could expect little tenderness. Yet they hoped that, if they showed their strength, nothing serious would be attempted against them. They came out to meet the king, to the number of twenty thousand armed men, and ranged themselves in battle array at the foot of Montmartre. But, informed by the constable that the king wished them to return to their homes, they obeyed (1383). Next day the king arrived. Executions began at once: first, the destruction of the liberties of the city, for it was deprived of its franchises and its elective magistrates, its corporations and guilds were suppressed, the chains which secured its streets and its arms were taken away. Then followed the execution of persons; arrests, summary judgments, immediate hanging. Three hundred of the richest citizens were drowned, hanged, and beheaded, almost without form of trial.

Then the citizens were assembled: a long list of their misdeeds was read to them: the punishments which they had deserved were enumerated. When their terror had been raised to its height, the king's uncles cast themselves at his feet and besought him for mercy. He yielded to the appeal, and caused announcement to be made by his chancellor that he would commute the punishments to fines. Paris did not escape without paying four hundred thousand francs (perhaps as much as twenty millions would be now). In other places there were similar executions, and especially enormous fines, "and all," says Froissart, "went to the profit of the Duke of Berry and the Duke of Burgundy, for the young king was under their control." The upper bourgeoisie was decimated and ruined, and when, thirty years after, the public misfortunes caused a new revolution to be attempted, they were not in condition to take the lead in it, and were obliged to leave its control to violent men who would deluge Paris with blood.

Union of Flanders and Burgundy (1384). — In 1384 the Count of Flanders died, and the Duke of Burgundy, his son-in-law, inherited his vast domains. Henceforward the house of Burgundy turned all its attention toward these

rich provinces and little by little forgot both the blood from which it sprang, and France, which had originated its greatness.

The next year was spent in vast preparations for a descent upon England. Fourteen hundred vessels were gathered together. But the favorable moment for the passage was allowed to go by : it became necessary to give up the project, after enormous expenditures.

The King assumes the Government (1388). — On returning from a fortunate expedition against the Duke of Gelderland, the king assembled a great council at Rheims, and asked those present to give him their advice touching the conduct of public affairs. The cardinal of Laon urged him to take into his own hands the management of all that concerned the ministry of war and the affairs of his household. Others supported the cardinal's advice. Charles VI. declared his determination to follow it, and thanked his uncles for the good services they had rendered him. Scarcely had the king left Rheims, when the cardinal of Laon died of poison.

The former counsellors of Charles V., the lesser men, the *marmousets*, as the great lords disdainfully called them, Olivier de Clisson and others, undertook, as ministers of State, the direction of affairs. The new administration was wise, economical, promoting order within and peace without : but the king was none the less extravagant. Fêtes were incessant. The most serious enterprises became occasions of festivity. The ministers attempted to combat these disorders or to diminish their disastrous effects : they economized in the expenses of the State to support the extravagances of the king, yet the State was a gainer by the arrangement. They restored to Paris its provost, gave the burgesses of the city the right of acquiring fiefs, as if they had been nobles, and deprived the Duke of Berry of his government of Languedoc, from which four hundred thousand inhabitants had fled into Aragon.

For four years these "lesser men" governed the kingdom, while the king's uncles and the greatest lords of France were removed from the management of affairs. These lords naturally desired strongly to make an end of such a regime. An Angevin lord, Pierre de Craon, a mortal enemy of the constable Olivier de Clisson, placed his personal hatred at the service of the political resentments of the aristocracy.

Murder of Clisson (1392). — One evening in June, 1392,

on departing from a fête given at the Hôtel St. Pol, the constable, at a very late hour, took leave of the king and the Duke of Orleans, and with eight footmen, of whom two carried torches, proceeded toward the Rue Ste. Catherine. There Pierre de Craon was waiting for him, with forty ruffians on horseback. When Clisson appeared, Pierre de Craon's men attacked his footmen, extinguished their torches, and attacked the constable. The latter tried to defend himself, but was soon wounded and thrown from his horse. He fell against the half-open door of a baker, which yielded. This saved him. The assassins supposed him to be dead, and hastily fled with Craon. Hearing the news of the assassination, the king repaired to the baker's house, where Clisson was beginning to recover consciousness, and vehemently declared that he should be avenged.

Insanity of the King (1392). — Pierre de Craon fled to the Duke of Brittany, who, summoned by the king to deliver up the traitor, concealed Craon and pretended to know nothing of the affair. Charles immediately assembled an army, swearing that he would take no rest until he had punished all these rebellions. The dukes of Burgundy and Berry tried, however, to delay this war, because of their hatred of Clisson. But the king paid no heed to his uncles' attempts at delay and their manifest reluctance, not to the fears which his physicians expressed as to his health: he conducted his army as far as Le Mans. As he was passing through the forest, a man clothed in white rushed out, and seizing the horse's bridle, cried, "Stop, noble king, go no further; thou art betrayed." This sudden apparition startled the king; a little later the page who was carrying the king's lance fell asleep upon his horse: the lance fell and struck a helmet with a loud noise. At this sound of arms the king drew his sword and cried, "Down, down with the traitors!" He rushed with his drawn sword against his brother, the Duke of Orleans, who with difficulty escaped him. Finally, one of his knights coming up from behind succeeded in seizing him, and he was disarmed. He recognized no one.

Re-establishment of the Government of the Princes. — Some days afterward, Olivier de Clisson, having claimed payment from the Duke of Burgundy for the knights who had followed the king upon his last expedition, the duke made violent threats against him. Clisson hastily repaired to his castle in Brittany, while Parliament declared him guilty of

extortion, banished him from the kingdom, and imposed upon him a fine of a hundred marks of silver. The other ministers fled or were imprisoned in the Bastile. The king's uncles were thus restored to full possession of the government. They interested themselves in efforts to end the great schism, but with no success. They signed a truce of twenty-eight years with England in 1395, and gave a daughter of Charles VI. in marriage to King Richard II.; but in 1399 the English deposed their king, and this well-conceived alliance was rendered useless.

Crusade of Nicopolis (1396).—Forty years before, the Ottoman Turks had crossed the Bosphorus, conquered Adrianople, and a part of the valley of the Danube; and already they were threatening Hungary. A crusade was resolved upon: it was put under the command of the young Count of Nevers, afterward known as John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy. They gayly descended the valley of the Danube: when they arrived near the Turks at Nicopolis, neglecting the advice of King Sigismund of Hungary, they rushed forward in disorder and were received by the formidable janizaries whom the sultan Amurath had lately organized, and who made short work of troops breathless and disordered. Ten thousand captives were slain in the presence of sultan Bajazet.

Isabella of Bavaria.—Isabella of Bavaria was but fifteen years old when she came from Germany to marry Charles VI. Without relatives, and without guidance in the midst of a corrupt court, she quickly acquired its manners, and learned to care only for luxury and pleasure. From the pursuit of pleasure she descended to debauchery. Charged with the care of the king's person during his imbecility, she used the authority which her husband's unhappy situation gave her, to satisfy her passions, her vicious inclinations, her vengeance.

Murder of the Duke of Orleans (1407).—Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, retained supreme power until his death in 1404. His son, John the Fearless, attempted to succeed to his influence in the government; but the king's brother, the Duke of Orleans, who enjoyed a complete ascendancy over the mind of the queen, and through her was master of the king and the dauphin, and was himself the head of the nobility and a brilliant knight, would not yield his authority to any one. Soon there arose between him and John the

Fearless a rivalry which threatened to become civil war in the very midst of Paris. Each assembled his men-at-arms and fortified his hotel. Fighting was about to begin, when the old Duke of Berry interposed, brought the Duke of Burgundy into the sick-room of the Duke of Orleans, caused them to embrace, to take the communion together, and to eat together. Three days after (November, 1407) Louis of Orleans died, assassinated by John the Fearless.

For four months the duke had been meditating this murder. He had bought a house in the city, to be used, he said, for storage. In this he concealed seventeen assassins. It was upon the route which the Duke of Orleans was accustomed to take in returning from the king's house to his own. On a dark night in November, as the duke was returning home with few attendants, the assassins rushed out upon him and murdered him. A woman at her window saw, by the light of the torches, a tall man come out of the house bought by the Duke of Burgundy, and satisfy himself that the duke was dead.

Next day John the Fearless came, with the other princes, to view the dead body. "Never," he declared on seeing the corpse, "never was a fouler murder committed in this realm." Some days later, however, when the provost of Paris declared to the council that he had no doubt of being able to discover the culprits, if he were given permission to search the hotels of the princes, John the Fearless turned pale, and, taking aside the Duke of Berry and the king of Sicily, said, "It is I who did it; the devil tempted me."

This first faintheartedness soon passed away, and the Duke of Burgundy resolved to avow and justify his crime. Next day, in fact, he boldly appeared, in order to take his seat in the council of the princes. Being refused admission, he hastened to his territories in Flanders, whence he caused it to be declared in discourse, sermon, and writing, that he had only anticipated the designs of the Duke of Orleans. A Franciscan friar, Dr. Jean Petit, was, next year, charged to demonstrate the rightfulness of the deed. After a bloody victory over the Liégeois, at Hasbain (1408), the duke returned to Paris, and obtained from the king letters of pardon by which Charles VI. declared that he entertained no displeasure against him for having removed from the world his brother, the Duke of Orleans (March, 1409).

Armagnacs and Burgundians (1410).—The administra-

tion of the Duke of Orleans had been as deplorable as his morals. The Duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, stoutly opposed the creation of any new taxes; he restored to the Parisians their ancient free constitution, the right to elect their provost and to organize in military companies under elected captains, and even that of possessing noble fiefs, with the privileges attached thereto. Thus he became extremely popular. It was the common people who made up, at Paris, the strength of the Burgundian party. A considerable portion of the nobility turned against him; the avengers of the Duke of Orleans ranged themselves under the banner of the Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of one of his young sons; and from him the party received its name (1410). So, with the king demented, the queen despised and incapable, the dauphin likely, by reason of his excesses, to end as his father had done, the first prince of the blood stained with an infamous murder, no government, partisan faction in arms against each other, war without and within, — such was the unhappy state of France. Between 1410 to 1412 the two factions met twice in arms, and twice made treaties of peace. Each had made advances to the English, in order to win over to its side the enemy of the country.

Intervention of the Bourgeoisie of Paris (1410); the Cabochiens. — The bourgeoisie now came forward, as in 1356, and attempted to bring peace to the state. They persuaded King Charles, in one of his lucid intervals, to send all the princes away, each to his province, forbidding him to return. But a few months afterwards, war was renewed. At the demand of the city, the defence of Paris was confided by the king's council to the Count of St. Pol, a friend of the Duke of Burgundy, and he, distrusting the upper ranks of the bourgeoisie, attempted to curb them by means of the populace. He sought the support of the numerous and wealthy guild of the butchers, and authorized them to raise five hundred men for the defence of the city. They armed their servants, slaughterers, and skinnners. The violent horde, accustomed to the shedding of blood, was headed by the slaughterer Caboché. Then Paris presented a strange and alarming spectacle. The populace made their remonstrances known to the prince; he must remove from him his evil advisers and the companions of his debaucheries; he must lead a more regular life, and have a care of

his health and his soul. The butchers took it upon themselves to watch over this reformation of manners. They had compassion on the dauphin, but broke out into violence against those who were corrupting him; they dragged them away from his hotel, led them away to the Parliament to be judged, and, on the way, executed justice themselves upon those with whom they were most displeased.

The Ordinance of the Cabochiens (1413); Reaction. — Meanwhile the abler members of the party, its doctors and legists, were preparing, for the suppression of abuses, the great ordinance of 1413, called the ordinance of the Cabochiens, the execution of which would have been one of the best administrative reforms ever effected in old France. But though men were found to plan it, there were none to execute and maintain it. Its administration fell into the hands of men who, by their intolerable excesses, hastened a reaction which caused their own fall and the abandonment of the measures of reform.

The populace attacked not only vice and immorality, but wealth; they mingled pillage and murder with reform; they finally disgusted even those who had at first employed them. The Armagnacs, summoned by all moderate men, stopped the excesses of the populace, but also repealed the reformatory measures carried out by the bourgeoisie (September, 1413). John the Fearless was driven out, and forced to promise that he would not return to Paris (1414).

Battle of Agincourt (1415). — While Armagnacs and Burgundians were thus fighting each other, King Henry V. of England judged that the moment had arrived for intervening in the contest. Since the extensive pillagings of the preceding century, war with France had always been popular in England. When Henry proposed an expedition on a large scale, he readily obtained from Parliament six thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers, with whom he landed near Harfleur in August, 1415. Harfleur was forced to surrender. But Henry had lost before it fifteen thousand men, half his army. Too weak now to attempt anything of consequence, he resolved to march across country to Calais.

The English set out from Harfleur on the 8th of October, 1415. Unable to cross the Somme at Blanchetaque, they were obliged to ascend the river as far as Amiens. Near Nesle, a peasant showed them a ford, difficult and danger-

ous, by which nevertheless they crossed in safety. The French now began to fear that their enemy would escape them. The princes took up their position near the village of Agincourt, which the English would necessarily pass, in a narrow plain, newly ploughed, and rendered soft by the rain, and in which it was impossible for their fifty thousand men, of whom forty thousand were horsemen, to manœuvre. The constable D'Albret had arranged the army in three lines; but all desired to be in the first. There were, indeed, several thousand archers to oppose to the English archers, and some cannon; but all the space was occupied by the knights, and so no use could be made of them. When the English archers sent forth their arrows, there was no reply on the part of the French army. The French men-at-arms were on ground so yielding, were so heavily weighted with armor, and so closely packed together, that few were able to make any attack upon the English; and these few, driven back, threw their own line of battle into disorder, and were followed up by the English archers, who, armed with axes, swords, and clubs, slew men and horses. The French rear-guard fled without having struck a blow.

The English left 1600 men upon the field of battle; the French, 10,000, among whom were seven princes, the constable, and 120 lords; 1500 prisoners, among whom were the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, remained in the hands of the victors. With these numerous captives, Henry V. marched to Calais, and re-embarked for England; his army, reduced to 10,000 men, could not think of undertaking any further enterprise after this extraordinary victory.

Massacre of the Armagnacs at Paris (1418). — On hearing the news of the battle, the Count of Armagnac took possession of the capital, the king, the dauphin, and the entire government. But lack of money soon drove him to alterations of the coinage and forced loans. Paris murmured. John the Fearless fomented the general discontent. He carried off Queen Isabella from Tours, and had her declared regent of the kingdom. In her name he forbade the towns to pay the taxes imposed by Armagnac, and entered into negotiations with Henry V., who had now returned and captured Caen (1417).

Meanwhile a plot was laid against Armagnac. A Burgundian leader was admitted into the city with a force of

eight hundred men; the former partisans of the faction, the butchers, the skinners, and all the men of the markets flocked to his standard. Some Armagnacs made their escape, taking the dauphin with them; the greater number, and the constable among others, were cast into prison. Their lives were soon in danger. On a Sunday in June, 1418, the populace, maddened by hunger and by rumors of Armagnac plots, broke out in riot and rushed to the prisons, to massacre without distinction all who were there. By Monday morning sixteen hundred persons had perished; men were slain in the prisons, they were slain in the streets; their corpses lay in the streets, "and children dragged them about in sport." These terrible scenes had just taken place, when Duke John the Fearless, with the queen, re-entered Paris, amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the multitude. But soon an epidemic broke out, which carried off fifty thousand persons in Paris and the environs. The populace again became furious, and, rushing to the prisons, massacred all those remaining or newly incarcerated in them. Some days after, the duke sent this ferocious band out to besiege the Armagnacs established, as he assured them, at Montlhéry: when they had sallied forth, he shut the gates of Paris behind them.

Rouen captured by the English (1419).—Thus John the Fearless found himself again master of the capital and of the government, but burdened also with the overwhelming responsibilities of the position,—to restrain the populace, to resist the Armagnacs, to make head against the English. After having taken possession of much of Normandy, the latter had now formed the siege of Rouen. The good town resisted bravely for seven months. But the government did nothing for its assistance, and finally Rouen surrendered. On learning of its fall, all the towns and strongholds of the province opened their gates. Henry showed himself placable, and gave good terms to all who would take oath of fidelity to him.

The pride of the English was raised to its utmost height by the conquest of this large and rich province. To the proposals of peace which the Duke of Burgundy made him, Henry replied by imperious demands,—a daughter of Charles VI. in marriage, and with her Guienne, Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Anjou and Touraine.

Murder of John the Fearless (1419); Treaty of Troyes (1420). — Repulsed in this direction, John the Fearless reverted to negotiations with the Armagnacs. But his suspicion and hatred of them again prevailing, he turned again to the English. Then the resolute men who surrounded the dauphin (afterward Charles VII.) determined to make an end, after their own manner, of a prince who might at any moment deliver up the kingdom to the foreigners. In September, 1419, the Duke of Burgundy, invited to an interview with the dauphin upon the bridge of Montereau, was slain by Tanneguy-Duchâtel and the servants of the prince.

The Englishmen reaped the benefits of the crime. The murder at the bridge of Montereau gave the crown of France to a king of England. In May, 1420, the disgraceful treaty of Troyes was concluded between Henry V., the young Duke of Burgundy, and Queen Isabella of France, who disinherited her son in order to give a crown to her daughter Catherine, whom she bestowed on the English king. It was agreed that Henry should administer the kingdom during the lifetime of Charles VI., and should succeed him at his death, and that neither of the two kings nor Duke Philip of Burgundy should make peace with the dauphin Charles save by the consent of all three of the negotiators and of the three estates in each kingdom.

Death of Henry V. and Charles VI. (1422). — But the long-continued and vigorous resistance which the English experienced at Sens, at Montereau, at Melun, and at Meaux, the defeat and death of his brother, the Duke of Clarence, at Baugé (1421), showed Henry V. that he was far from possessing the whole of France. He was sensible of the difficulties of his situation; and when it was announced to him that his young queen had given birth to a son, he foretold, already in mortal illness, the fate of conquests so laboriously obtained. Though still a young man, Henry V. died on August 14, 1422. Seven weeks later, on October 21st, Charles VI. died, mourned and regretted by his people.

Council of Constance. — Important events in the history of the Church had occurred during his reign. Two national councils, the first that had been held during the Capetian period, had assembled at Paris, to take counsel concerning the best means of bringing to an end the schism. France demanded and obtained the convocation of a general coun-

cil. It was in session from 1414 to 1418 at Constance, deposed Popes John XXIII. and Benedict XIII., and set Martin V. in their places; declared, to prevent any future schism, that general councils were of superior authority to the Pope; and at the same time showed its abhorrence of heresy by condemning John Hus and Jerome of Prague, who were burned at the stake.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHARLES VII., TO HIS RETURN TO PARIS.

(1422-1436.)

Henry VI. and Charles VII.—After the funeral of Charles VI. at St. Denis, the French king-at-arms proclaimed “Henry, king of France.” At the same time, at Mehun-sur-Yèvre in Berry, a few French knights proclaimed Charles the Seventh. The king proclaimed at St. Denis was a child ten months old, grandson, through his mother, of Charles VI. His uncles would necessarily administer the kingdom in his name,—the Duke of Bedford, France; the Duke of Gloucester, England. The child had been recognized as sovereign of the kingdom of France by the Parliament, by the University, by the first prince of the blood, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and by Queen Isabella. Paris, almost all the countries north of the Loire, and Guienne, to the south of that river, obeyed him. The king proclaimed in Berry, sole surviving son of Charles VI., was a young man of nineteen, of engaging manners, but weak in body, pale in countenance, and deficient in courage. For the moment and for long years after he showed an eager interest in pleasures only, and a certain dulness in the presence of business and of dangers. His authority was recognized only in the southern provinces, excepting Guienne.

Two defeats, at Crevant and at Verneuil, began the reign of Charles VII. and completed the ruin of all his hopes in the North of France. He seemed indifferent to this, readily submitted to hearing himself derisively called the king of Bourges, and wandered about from castle to castle with his little court. Despite his weakness, the king of Bourges had one great advantage: he was the French prince, while the other was the king of the foreigners. The longer one lived with the English, the more one suffered from the harshness of their rule, the more one felt the shame of the ignominious treason which had delivered up France to them. The marriage of Charles VII. with Marie of Anjou won over to

his cause that powerful family, and through it, the powerful house of Lorraine, whose brave princes were always French at heart. The Count of Foix, governor of Languedoc, after having scrupulously inquired of the jurisconsults and consulted the probable course of events, declared that his conscience obliged him to recognize Charles VII. as lawful king. The constable's sword, given to Count Arthur de Richemont, gained over his brother the Duke of Brittany to the side of France, and placed at the service of the king that warlike province, the nursery of good soldiers and skilful captains. Castile lent ships, and five or six thousand soldiers arrived as auxiliaries from Scotland. So even in the hands of the indolent Charles VII. the royal power constituted itself anew and again attached to itself whatever was French in the country, and whatever was hostile to England abroad. By removing from his person, at the demand of Richemont, Tanneguy-Duchâtel and those Armagnacs who had compromised him in the affair of the bridge of Montereau, Charles prepared a later reconciliation with those whom the death of John the Fearless had sent into the English party.

Difficulties of the English.—It was the alliance of the English with the Duke of Burgundy which had brought them Paris and the treaty of Troyes. Accordingly it was absolutely necessary to keep on good terms with him. Bedford readily perceived this necessity and acted accordingly. But Gloucester refused to observe it. He had just married Jacqueline of Hainault, and this union was sure to bring about a private war between Gloucester and the Duke of Burgundy.

Meanwhile the towns resisted the sway of the foreigner. La Ferté-Bernard (dep. Sarthe) sustained, in 1422, a siege of four months, and only when reduced to the last extremity submitted to Salisbury. In 1427 the English, in order to approach the Loire, besieged Montargis on the Loing with three thousand men-at-arms. The town had but a small garrison, but the inhabitants assisted efficiently. They defended themselves for three months. At the end of that time they sent word to the king that they had no more provisions nor ammunition. Dunois and La Hire (the same whose prayer was "O God, I pray thee to do to-day for La Hire what thou wouldst wish that La Hire should do for thee, if he were God and thou wert La Hire") set out with

sixteen hundred men and forced the English to raise the siege.

Siege of Orleans (1428-1429): Battle of the Herrings (1429).—Next year Bedford resolved to push military operations with vigor. In June, the Earl of Salisbury landed at Calais with six thousand good English troops. Bedford added to them four thousand soldiers gathered from the garrisons of Normandy, and this army, after taking several strong places, appeared before Orleans. Orleans was the gate of Berry, of the Bourbonnais, and of Poitou. If it were taken, the king of Bourges became king only of Languedoc and Dauphiny. In October, 1428, the English appeared before its walls and immediately began to raise around the place bastions, the guard of which was intrusted to the bravest captains in their army,—the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Talbot, William Gledsdale, and others. Salisbury was commander-in-chief.

The people of Orleans, expecting this siege, had fortified their town, burning the suburbs with their own hands. The garrison numbered only five hundred men, but all old soldiers. Moreover, the citizens were determined not to spare themselves. They formed thirty-four companies, and each undertook to defend one of the thirty-four towers of the wall. Artillery was beginning to play an important rôle in battles and sieges. That of the besiegers of Orleans was ill served, that of the city was managed with great skill. Salisbury was killed by a chance cannon-shot, and the next day the bastard of Orleans, the handsome and brave Dunois, entered the place with the best knights of the time and six or seven hundred soldiers: others followed, until gradually there came to be seven thousand in Orleans.

But the enemy, with British tenacity, continued strengthening their circumvallations: they proposed to reduce the town by famine. Four months had already passed, and provisions began to be scarce in the town. It was known that the Duke of Bedford was sending from Paris, under command of Sir John Fastolf, twenty-five hundred soldiers, and three hundred wagons of ammunition and provisions, especially of herrings for the Lenten fast. The Count of Clermont, eldest son of the Duke of Bourbon, assembled a body of five thousand men, including the flower of the nobility, and met the English convoy near Rouvray (February, 1429). On the approach of the French, Fastolf made a stockade of his

wagons. The French opened the attack with their artillery, and all was going prosperously ; but, as so often before, the impetuosity of the knights lost them the battle (battle of the Herrings). Meanwhile the situation of the town became daily more serious, and Charles VII. did not arouse from his indolence. Some of the nobility disgracefully abandoned the city. The besieged began to despair. They attempted negotiations, but with no success.

Revival of National Feeling. — What the great nobles did not do, the lesser people did. The humiliation of France and of its sovereign began to weigh upon the hearts of the people. In presence of the foreigner the sentiment of nationality awoke in them. Hitherto a man was a citizen of his town, and nothing more. In the face of the English he felt himself a Frenchman. A century before, no one had disturbed himself about Calais, when besieged by Edward III. All France now interested itself in the fate of Orleans. A sentiment unknown to the Middle Ages, that of patriotism, was coming into existence. The terrible miseries through which the nation was passing, instead of destroying this sentiment, had made it more active. These miseries arose from various causes, but the people recognized only one, — the English. All the sufferings which they had endured they attributed to the English. All the resentments which they had accumulated were directed against the English. To drive out the English became their familiar thought, and since men gave no aid, they reckoned upon the aid of God. The opinion gradually became established from one end of France to the other, that the kingdom was to be saved by a virgin, a daughter of the people: this daughter of the people was Jeanne d'Arc.

Jeanne d'Arc (1429-1431). — Jeanne d'Arc, third daughter of the peasant Jacques d'Arc, was born in 1409 in the village of Domrémy, on the borders of Champagne and Lorraine. Life upon this frontier was frequently disturbed. War was perpetual there — now the English, now the Burgundians, now the *grandes compagnies*: it was necessary to be ready at any moment to fight, to flee into the neighboring forest if too weak to fight, and to return when the enemy had disappeared, to repair his ravages. The men of Domrémy, determined Armagnacs, had, two leagues from their village, the Burgundian village of Marey; men, children even, of the two villages never met without fighting.



JOAN OF ARC.

From a picture of the early seventeenth century, preserved in the City Hall at Rouen.



War, combats, wounds, devastation, were the first sight that struck the eyes of Jeanne. By the hearth-fire she heard stories of war, and then holy traditions, pious legends of St. Michael the archangel of battles, St. Margaret and St. Catherine, for whom the young peasant girl devoutly wove wreaths and garlands, whom she was wont to regard as her especial saints, and of whom she was wont to dream in the neighboring oak forest. In all these day-dreams was mingled the image of Charles VII., the poor young king, denied by his mother, and driven out of his inheritance by the English.

Jeanne grew up in the midst of all these excitements, with firm, good health, a good girl, simple, amiable, and timid, so her companions say, delighting in the church and in holy places, confessing often, and increasing by bodily austerities her imaginative exaltation of soul. One day in 1423, at noonday, the young girl, being in the garden near the church, suddenly saw a great light, and from the midst of that light came forth a voice, bidding her be a good child and go often to church. Another time she saw in this light beautiful figures, of whom one, which had wings, said to her, "Jeanne, go and deliver the king of France and restore to him his kingdom." She trembled greatly, and replied, "My lord, I am only a poor girl; I should not know how to lead men-at-arms." The voice replied, "St. Catherine and St. Margaret will aid you." She saw again the archangel and the two saints, heard her *voices*, as she called them: she heard them at times during four years, and felt forced to obey them.

But how should she obey them? Her father declared that sooner than see her go off with soldiers, he would drown her with his own hands. At Vaucouleurs, her uncle, believing in her mission, took her to the Sieur de Baudricourt, captain of the garrison. Rudely rebuffed by him, Jeanne did not waver, "for," said she, "before mid-Lent I must be with the king, even though to get there I must wear off my legs to the knees." At last she succeeded. The people made up a purse to equip her and to buy her a horse. She cut off her long hair, put on male garments, and set out from Vaucouleurs, under escort of six men-at-arms, in February, 1429.

It was a terrible journey at such a time. Jeanne was in danger both from the coarse protectors who had been given her, from robbers, and from the enemy. But nothing frightened her. The enthusiasm which she felt and which she

inspired triumphed over all difficulties and all dangers, and at length she arrived at Chinon, where Charles VII. was. The council discussed for two days whether the king ought to see her; but at length it was resolved on. In nowise disconcerted by her ceremonious reception, she recognized the king at once among all the courtiers, went straight to him, and said, "Gentle dauphin, why do you not believe in me? I tell you that God has pity on you, upon your kingdom, and upon your people: for St. Louis and St. Charles-magne are on their knees before him, making prayer for us. If you will give me men, I will raise the siege of Orleans, and I will conduct you to Rheims to be consecrated, for it is the pleasure of God that his enemies the English shall go back to their country, and that the kingdom shall remain to you."

The cynical court of Charles VII. was not easily to be convinced of a miraculous mission. But the people were already convinced. Public opinion urged on the hesitating government. Jeanne was equipped, armed, and sent to Orleans.

Deliverance of Orleans (May, 1429). — Orleans was in very great danger; but it must also be said that the English besiegers were not in a much better situation. Losses and desertion had reduced their army to four or five thousand men, and these somewhat dispersed. To reduce enemies so weak, only discipline and union on the part of those who attacked them were necessary. Now nothing was more disorderly than these partisan bands and captains who had thrown themselves into the town to defend it, and who in war sought only the gains and the pleasures which might be obtained from it. To give morale and discipline to these rude and savage natures was an undertaking far beyond the scope of the royal authority at this time. But what royalty could not have done, the general enthusiasm effected. At a sign from Jeanne d'Arc, they renounced their debaucheries, confessed, and took communion. Thus metamorphosed, the army became invincible.

At the end of April, 1429, Jeanne d'Arc entered Orleans with a convoy of provisions and a small escort: a few days later she led in the army, passing and repassing before the lines of the enemy, while the English refused to stir, partly because they believed that all the powers of hell were now conspiring against them. Jeanne, who was a saint within the walls of Orleans, was in the English bastions a sorceress.

The English assailed her with coarse insults, yet had an extreme fear of her. These redoubtable soldiers evacuated of their own accord their bastions on the south of the Loire, except two, on which they concentrated all their strength. On the sixth of May Jeanne crossed the Loire, advanced against one of these bastions, rallied her troops from the panic which had at first caused them to flee, planted her standard, embroidered with fleurs-de-lis, upon the bank of the ditch, and the bastion was taken and razed to the ground. Next day all the army and the people attacked the other bastion. Jeanne with her own hands placed a ladder against its wall, mounted it, and received a serious wound, which only raised the enthusiasm of her soldiers. The English, attacked on all sides, vainly attempted to flee; five hundred of them were put to the sword. Not a single Englishman now remained on the south of the Loire. The next day Suffolk and Talbot evacuated the northern bastions, abandoning munitions, artillery, baggage, prisoners, and the sick. Jeanne then set out for Tours, where, kneeling before the king, she besought him to go and be crowned at Rheims.

Charles VII. crowned at Rheims (1429).—To be consecrated at Rheims was for Charles VII. to gain a signal advantage over his young rival Henry VI., and to become in reality king of France. But the politicians again believed themselves the wisest, and it was decided first to clear the banks of the Loire of Englishmen. But after a decisive victory won near Patay, the advice of Jeanne could no longer be resisted. The people believed in her only, and even the nobles took her side. The army set out from Gien at the end of June, 1429. It was received with joy by the peasants and in the villages; but the large towns hesitated. Auxerre did not open its gates, but furnished provisions. Troyes, which had a strong garrison of Burgundians and English, and walls in good repair, refused to receive the royal army. Jeanne ran to the ramparts with her standard in her hand, caused the ditch to be filled up, and began attacking the wall, when the English, disturbed by the news of what had happened at Orleans, offered of their own accord to go away. Charles did not stop at Troyes, nor at Chalons, which willingly opened its gates, and on the 13th of July arrived before Rheims. Two Burgundian lords commanded the town, but had no soldiers. They could not induce the

citizens to fight: the city was surrendered, and on the 17th Charles was finally consecrated with the usual ceremonies.

Continuation of the War against the English. — Jeanne had done the two great things which her voices had bade her do; she had delivered Orleans and caused the king to be crowned; she would have wished now to return to her village. As they entered Rheims, she said to Dunois, "I have accomplished that which my Lord commanded me; I would now that he would let me go back to my father and mother and tend their sheep and cattle." But her work was not yet finished, for the English still held a considerable part of the kingdom. Jeanne demanded that the army should march upon Paris, but the king's counsellors decided first to take the small towns lying on the way to Paris. This was easily done; but when they arrived before Paris the opportunity had passed. Paris was too large a city to be carried by a sudden stroke, and the Parisians were too largely compromised in recent revolutions to submit to Charles VII. save under absolute necessity. Time had been given them to prepare themselves. They made a courageous defence. Jeanne bore herself with her usual intrepidity, crossed the ditch of the city alone, was wounded, and yet received all the blame of the failure. She saw Charles VII., returning to his listlessness, go back to Chinon, leaving orders to evacuate St. Denis. She saw the Duke of Burgundy, taking courage, re-enter Soissons and besiege Compiègne. Touched with the fate of these poor citizens, who had given themselves up to Charles VII., she threw herself into the town in order to defend it.

Captivity and Death of Jeanne d'Arc (1430-1431). — The very day of her arrival, in May, 1430, she made a sortie; but the besiegers repulsed it, and when she came back to the gate she found it closed. Abandoned in the midst of the enemy, she was captured by the bastard of Vendôme, who sold her to John of Luxemburg. John of Luxemburg sold her to the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Burgundy to the English at Rouen.

To the French, Jeanne was a messenger of God; to the English, an emissary of the devil. Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, undertook to prove it by a witchcraft trial in due form. He drew up an accusation on the four following points: transgression of the laws of the Church, in having employed practices of magic, in having taken arms contrary

to the desire of her parents, in having assumed the attire of the opposite sex, and in having asserted revelations which the ecclesiastical authority had not sanctioned. Thus a poor girl of nineteen found herself alone, without help, in the face of judges sold to her enemies, who arbitrarily suppressed all the proofs of her innocence, who prevented her appealing to Pope or council, who tried to embarrass her by absurd, captious, or subtle questions, yet found themselves often disconcerted by her straightforward replies.

"Jeanne," said they, "do you believe that you are in a state of grace?" "If I am not, may God put me in it; if I am, may God maintain me in it." "Do you believe that you did right to set out without the permission of your father and mother? ought not one to honor his father and his mother?" "They have pardoned me." "Do you think, then, that you did not sin in doing so?" "God commanded it; if I had a hundred fathers and mothers, I would nevertheless have set out." "Do you believe that your king did right to kill, or cause to be killed, my lord of Burgundy?" "It was a great injury to the kingdom of France; but however it may have been between them, God sent me to the aid of the king of France." "Do St. Catherine and St. Margaret hate the English?" "They love what our Lord loves and hate what he hates." "Does God hate the English?" "Of the love or hate which God has for the English I know nothing; but I know well that they shall be driven out of France, save those who shall perish therein."

Her condemnation was resolved upon in advance. Under threats and promises, especially that of being withdrawn from the hands of her English jailers and restored to the custody of the Church, she yielded, and signed a recantation presented to her, without at all knowing what was contained in it: then, as an act of grace and moderation, she was condemned simply to pass the rest of her days in prison, upon bread and water.

At this the English began to complain. Their affairs were going from bad to worse, and they were so much the more enraged against their captive. In fact, they seized her again. On the morning of Trinity Sunday (May 31, 1431) one of the Englishmen who guarded her took away her woman's clothes and left her only her male attire. "You know," said she, "that I am forbidden to wear it." They would not give her any other, and she was forced to put

it on. The judges, at once informed, were all ready to declare her crime. They condemned her to be burned alive, as relapsed. The execution was to take place immediately. At first, Jeanne wept bitterly; yet still expected that some deliverance would come. But at nine o'clock, clothed again in woman's garments, she was placed in a cart, and rode through the trembling crowd, guarded by eight hundred Englishmen armed with lances and swords.

"The end of the sad journey was the Old Market or Fish Market. Three scaffolds had been raised there. Upon one was the episcopal and royal throne of the cardinal of England (Beaufort) among the seats of his prelates; upon the other were to appear the preacher, the judges and the bailli; on the third, the condemned. Near them was a great platform of plaster, heaped high with wood. It was desired that, placed upon the top of this mountain of wood, and rising above the circle of lances and swords, she might be seen from all parts of the square. The terrible ceremony began with a sermon; then the ecclesiastical judge, the bishop of Beauvais, benignly exhorted her to think of her soul, and to recall all her sins, in order to move herself to repentance. But already she had fallen upon her knees, invoking God, the Virgin, St. Michael, and St. Catherine, pardoning all and asking pardon, begging those around to pray for her. She especially requested the priests to say each one a mass for her soul. All this was done in a manner so devout, so humble, and so touching, that no one could control his emotion. The bishop of Beauvais began to weep, the bishop of Boulogne sobbed, and even the English wept also, Winchester among the rest.

"But the judges, though disconcerted for a moment, regained their composure. The bishop of Beauvais, wiping his eyes, began to read her condemnation: he reminded the condemned of all her crimes, schism, idolatry, the invocation of devils, how she had been admitted to penitence, and how, 'seduced by the Prince of Lies, she had fallen back, O grief! as the dog returns to his vomit. . . . Therefore we pronounce that you are a rotten member, and as such, cut off from the Church. We deliver you over to the secular power, praying it, nevertheless, to be merciful.'

"Thus abandoned by the Church, she turned in all confidence to God. She asked for a cross. An Englishman handed her a cross of wood, which he made from the pieces

of a stick. She received it none the less devoutly, kissed the rude cross, and placed it upon her breast, beneath her garments. But she wished for the cross of the Church, that it might be held before her eyes until her death. The good bailiff Massieu and Brother Isambart caused one to be brought for her from the parish church of St. Sauveur. As she was embracing this cross, and Isambart was encouraging her, the English began to find this tedious; it was already noon; the soldiers grumbled; the captains said, 'How now, priests, must we dine here?' Then losing patience, they sent forward two sergeants to take her from the hands of the priests. At the very foot of the tribunal she was seized by the soldiers, who dragged her to the executioner, saying, 'Do thine office.' This brutality of the soldiers excited general horror. A number of those present, and even of the judges, fled in order to see no more.

"Even in this moment of terror and of trouble she accused neither her king nor her saints. But arrived at the top of the pyre, seeing the great town and the motionless and silent crowd, she could not help exclaiming, 'Ah, Rouen, Rouen, I have great fear that thou shalt suffer for my death.' She was bound to the stake, crowned with a mitre bearing the inscription, 'Heretic, relapsed, apostate, idolater.' Then the executioner lighted the fire. She saw it from above and uttered a cry. Then, as the friar who was exhorting her paid no heed to the flames, she feared for him, forgetting herself, and bade him descend from the pile. To the bishop she said, gently, as she had said before, 'Bishop, I die by your means; if you had put me in the prisons of the Church, this would not have happened.' It had been expected that, seeing herself abandoned by her king, she would at length have accused him and spoken against him. But she still defended him: 'Whether I have done well or done ill, my king had no share in it; it is not he who advised me.'

"Meanwhile the flame was mounting high. At the moment when it touched her, the unhappy girl shuddered and asked for holy water: Water! it was apparently a cry of fear. But, recovering at once, thenceforward she spoke only the name of God, his angels and his saints. She bore witness to them: 'Yes, my voices were from God; my voices did not deceive me.' These weighty words are attested by the Dominican who mounted the pile of fagots

with her, whom she persuaded to descend, but who, from below, spoke to her and listened, holding before her eyes the cross; and also by another witness, a saintly man whose name history ought to preserve, the Augustine friar, Isambart de la Pierre. 'We heard her,' say they, 'in the fire, calling upon her saints and her archangel: she repeated the name of the Saviour. Finally dropping her head upon her breast, she uttered one loud cry: Jesus!'

"Ten thousand men were weeping. Some Englishmen alone laughed or tried to laugh. One of the most vehement had sworn to put a fagot upon the pile: she died at the moment when he placed it there. He fell ill; his comrades led him to a tavern to make him drink and recover his spirits: but he could not rally. 'I saw,' he said, in his delirium, 'I saw a dove fly forth from her lips with her last breath.' Others had read in the flames the word which she had repeated: 'Jesus!' The executioner came in the evening to find Brother Isambart. He was filled with terror; he confessed, but he could not believe that God would ever pardon him. A secretary of the king of England said aloud as he went away: 'We are lost; we have burned a saint!'" (Michelet).

Defeat of the English; Consecration of the English King at Paris (1431).—The sorceress was burned, and nothing prevented the English from soon conquering the kingdom of France; but first they judged it wise to put the law on their side by causing the young Henry VI. to be consecrated, the consecration of Charles VII. having been declared null and void. The ceremony took place in December, 1431, at Paris. An English prelate, the cardinal of Winchester, officiated, to the great discontent of the bishop of Paris: the attendants were English lords, and not a single French prince: there was no liberation of prisoners, no reduction of taxes, no largess to the people. "A citizen marrying his children would do things better," said the townspeople. General discontent was the result of this ceremony intended to render Henry VI. popular. It remained to be seen whether the English would at least recover their old good fortune in war. First they failed to take Compiègne. Rouen was nearly captured by the French (1432). Dunois obtained Chartres by an intrigue with the French within the town. The English could not even take a fortified village.

Rupture of the Alliance between England and Burgundy.

— The English, unfortunate everywhere, had so much the more need of the alliance with the Duke of Burgundy. But suspicions arose between the duke and the English princes. Bedford's wife, sister of the Duke Philip, died in November, 1432. Every mistake committed by the English was immediately and very shrewdly turned to account by the Breton who then directed all affairs at the court of France, the constable de Richemont, whose skilful policy consisted in bringing the king of France and the Duke of Burgundy nearer together. But though Philip the Good had no lack of grievances, yet, in a sort of chivalrous fidelity toward his allies, he would not engage in any negotiations save general negotiations for the re-establishment of peace; and a veritable European congress was assembled at Arras in the year 1435.

Treaty of Arras (1435). Representatives of all the Christian states assembled there: deputies of the good towns of the kingdom, deputies of the University; the constable de Richemont, with eighteen great lords, in behalf of the king of France; the cardinal of Winchester, with several lords, in behalf of England; and finally the Duke of Burgundy.

The conference opened upon the 5th of August, 1435. The English at first demanded the execution of the treaty of Troyes pure and simple, next that each should retain what he possessed; and when only Aquitaine and Normandy in full sovereignty were offered to them, they left Arras on the 6th of September. Then every one begged the Duke of Burgundy to restore peace to France. He had many scruples. In the first place he had sworn to avenge the death of his father—the cardinal-legates who presided over the assembly offered to release him immediately from this evil oath. Secondly, he had signed the treaty of Troyes—the jurisconsults assured him that that treaty was absolutely null, since the Roman law forbids the making of agreements concerning the inheritance of a living person. At this point Bedford died. The duke now considered himself free from every engagement, and signed the treaty of Arras. It was agreed that the king should give assurances, or cause assurances to be given, to the Duke of Burgundy, that the killing of Duke John was an ill deed and always deplored by him; but that he was then very young, and knew not how to deal with the affair; that for the soul of

Duke John certain endowments should be made and certain buildings erected by the king. Then came more tangible satisfactions to the Duke of Burgundy,—the cession in perpetuity of the counties of Auxerre and Mâcon and three *châtellenies*; cession, with permission to ransom, of the towns of the Somme, St. Quentin, Amiens, Abbeville, and others; cession of the feudal revenues of the county of Artois; and exemption of the duke during his lifetime and that of the king from every sort of dependence upon the latter.

Charles VII. at Paris (1436).—These humiliating concessions had an immediate compensation: the treaty of Arras gave the king of France Paris. The citizens invited the constable de Richemont, and in May, 1436, opened their gates to him. The English garrison of fifteen hundred men shut themselves up in the Bastile. Richemont was totally unprepared to undertake a siege. The English offered to surrender the Bastile on condition of being allowed to withdraw with their baggage and those persons who should desire to accompany them; and this form of capitulation was accepted.

EIGHTH PERIOD.

FINAL VICTORY OF THE CROWN OVER THE FEUDAL ARISTOCRACY (1436-1491).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ENGLISH EXPELLED FROM FRANCE.—GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES VII.

(1436-1461 A.D.)

Situation of the Kingdom. — Some time after the surrender of Paris, Charles VII. paid a visit to his capital. The pestilence still prevailed in the city. The streets were so deserted that wolves came into the town: forty persons were devoured by them in a single week of September, 1438.

The people, accustomed to arms and to the management of affairs, were henceforth to count for much more than hitherto. Above the citizen class were the remnants of old feudalism, singularly altered by a century of civil and foreign war. In such wars the government furnished neither pay, nor provisions, nor ammunition: the men-at-arms were forced to live by the profits of war, at the expense of the enemy if they could, most often at the expense of the country, and were quite without restraint or discipline. The chieftains were the most cruel and ferocious of men, harsh toward the enemy, but equally harsh toward the peasants or citizens, despoiling the one as well as the other. Wars thus conducted corrupted an entire class of men, those who were called gentlemen and wore the sword. The manners of camps made their way into the castles. Murders and bloody deeds were common among the nobility. The in-

famous Gilles de Retz continued for forty years to kidnap children in the fields and in the towns, in order to kill them at his leisure and conduct magical operations. Above this feudal aristocracy was the aristocracy of the princes, which the crown had created with its own hands, by bestowing vast appanages upon the sons, brothers, and relatives of the king. Such was the origin of the powerful houses of Burgundy, Orleans, Anjou, and Bourbon, who joined to the independent spirit of the antique feudalism the pride and ambitious claims of royal blood.

In the midst of a French society thus composed, the king of Bourges, who had become king of Paris without much improvement in his situation, now found himself. But just as in the twelfth century Louis VI. was aided by the soldiers of the communes, so in the fifteenth century the people in their misery, the king in his weakness, drew nearer to each other and aided each other in maintaining ideas of order and of justice, and in common efforts to strike down that aristocratic supremacy which stood in the way of the unification and prosperity of the kingdom. The king thus again became the great revolutionary of his time.

Charles VII., in fact, in the latter part of his reign, showed himself a quite different man, always very careless in matters of morality but, so far as public affairs were concerned, matured by age and experience. The change was not due, as legend relates, to the influence of his mistress, Agnes Sorel, but to that of the wise counsellors in whom he entirely trusted: Jean Bureau, the master of the artillery; Jacques Cœur, the treasurer; Étienne Chevalier, the king's secretary; Guillaume Cousinot, the master of requests; and others. All these were commoners; Agnes, also, was only the daughter of a simple squire. If we find some noble names among the counsellors of Charles VII., they belong to that lesser nobility, which was nothing without the king's support. Richemont and Dunois are the only exceptions, but the constable was less the minister of the king than that of France. He made war as vigorously upon the favorites of Charles VII. as upon the English.

Ordinance of Orleans (1439).—Measures of reform appeared so urgent, that the government did not even wait for the end of the war before undertaking them. In October, 1439, Charles convoked, at Orleans, the States-General of the northern provinces, and by their advice issued an

ordinance, reserving to himself the right of appointing all the captains of France, and fixing the number of the soldiers. He forbade any one to assume the name of captain or to command soldiers if he had not been nominated to the office. The captain remained responsible for the conduct of his men: he was under severe penalties to prevent them from pillaging or maltreating churchmen, merchants, or laborers. The soldiers were to be amenable to the jurisdiction of the baillis and the provosts. Finally, each captain was to be sent to garrison a designated frontier fortress, and was forbidden to leave it without orders. Barons who had men-at-arms in their castles were to maintain them at their own expense, and to be responsible for any excesses which they might commit.

This ordinance of 1439 was a complete revolution, for it put the military forces of the kingdom in the king's hands. Many intrigues forthwith resulted. The lords and the Skinners (marauders) declared that this was the overthrow of all order, that such a king ought at once to be replaced by the dauphin Louis, his son, a young man of seventeen, who showed, they said, precocious talents. They little suspected what talents he was eventually to disclose.

The Praguerie (1440). — Impatient to reign, the dauphin lent himself readily to these schemes. The dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, the counts of Vendôme and Dunois, the principal chiefs of the Skinners, put themselves at the head of the rebellion. It was an insurrection of the whole nobility against the crown. Charles VII. was at Poitiers. Throughout Poitou the citizens declared for the king, and the strongholds fell one after another into his hands. This caused reflection among the rebels; and the wisest, like Dunois, hastened to make a separate peace, and to put themselves at the king's service against their recent associates. In the Bourbonnais and in Auvergne, as in Poitou, the bourgeoisie was for the king and against the lords. The states of Auvergne declared that they were body and goods on the side of the king, who protected the poor people against the vexations of the soldiers; and they furnished him with money. The dukes of Bourbon and Alençon and the dauphin saw plainly that they must not only submit, but sue for pardon. They appeared before the king, fell on their knees at his feet, and begged to be pardoned.

This prompt submission of the insurgents, this concert

of the bourgeoisie and the crown, were a warning to the entire aristocracy. The Duke of Burgundy, though he had refused to give aid to the insurgents, considered himself warned like the rest. He felt it necessary to strengthen himself against an authority so threatening, to acquire allies. He therefore arranged for the deliverance, and in part paid the ransom, of Duke Charles of Orleans, a prisoner of the English since Agincourt, and the most graceful poet of the fifteenth century, gave him his niece in marriage, conferred upon him the order of the Golden Fleece, and sent the collar of the same order to the dukes of Brittany and Alençon.

Meanwhile the king continued to make the royal justice felt. He took and delivered over to the provost the boldest of the Skinners, the bastard of Bourbon, who, in spite of his birth, was sewn up in a sack, and thrown into the river. He forced the Count of St. Pol to submit his quarrels to the Parliament of Paris. And all this without relaxing for a moment the war against the English; wresting from them Meaux, Pontoise, and Dieppe; seducing their allies in the south of France, compelling them finally to ask for a truce (1444) and the hand of a French princess, Margaret of Anjou, for their young king, Henry VI.; and raising up at their gates a new enemy by the marriage of the dauphin Louis with Margaret of Scotland, daughter of James I.

The Skinners in Switzerland; Charles VII. in Lorraine (1444).—Charles had granted this truce to the English only in order to finish the work of internal reform begun in 1439. He resolved to rid himself of the companies of Skinners by sending them off to perish in foreign lands. Two requests for assistance arrived at the same time, — one from the Emperor Frederick III. for aid against the Swiss, the other from Duke René of Lorraine for aid against Metz. Charles acceded to both.

Switzerland had founded and assured its independence over against Austria and the Empire by three battles, — Morgarten, Sempach, and Näfels, in which a handful of peasants had heroically defeated large feudal armies. Invited by Frederick III. to give assistance against them, Charles hastened to send forth, in as orderly a fashion as possible, that army with which he did not know what to do, fourteen thousand Frenchmen, eight thousand Englishmen, Scotchmen, Brabanters, Spaniards, and Italians, and with

them, as generalissimo, the dauphin Louis. The terrible bands reached the Jura, and entered Switzerland. The Swiss, who were then besieging Zurich, sent only two thousand of their troops to reconnoitre the enemy. These, rashly ignoring the strength of the opposing force, threw themselves upon them, and were slain to a man (1444). The dauphin conceived so high an esteem for men who fought so well that he advanced no further, and made a treaty of alliance with the Swiss.

The king himself took the lead of the second expedition. Many of the nobility flocked to his side, and already there was talk of reviving the ancient rights of the crown of France over the countries beyond the Rhine; but the expedition did not succeed, the inhabitants of Metz making a heroic resistance. Yet the king received the homage of Épinal, and had shown the standard of France in the valley of the Moselle.

Creation of a Permanent Army (1445-1448).—These two expeditions had rid the king of the most insubordinate of the military adventurers, and had accustomed the others to some beginning of discipline. At length it was possible to carry out the ordinance of Orleans. In 1445 the army was reduced to fifteen companies of a hundred lances each. For each lance were reckoned six men, the man-at-arms and his page, three archers, and a soldier armed with a dagger, all on horseback. They were distributed in small bodies, as garrisons of the towns. All other soldiers were ordered to disperse to their homes within fifteen days under penalty of being delivered over to justice as vagrants. They obeyed. Those enrolled submitted to rigid discipline. Charles VII. then had at his disposal a well-trained body of nine thousand horsemen.

By another ordinance, in 1448, the king gave France what it had never had before,—a regular and permanent infantry. Each of the sixteen thousand parishes of the kingdom was obliged to furnish the king with a foot-soldier; he was to be armed and equipped at their expense with light defensive armor, a casque, a dagger, a sword, a bow and quiver, or cross-bow. He was, moreover, to drill on every feast day and to be ready to serve the king whenever he was summoned. The *franc archer* was not at first a model soldier, for military qualities do not come into immediate existence in a nation so long disarmed; but the initial steps had been taken toward the formation of an excellent national infantry.

Financial Reforms (1443). — A still more important reform in financial administration was effected by Jacques Cœur in 1443. To establish a system of mutual checks among financial officers, to compel the individual receivers to account to the receiver-general, and him to the Chamber of Accounts, to force the great officers of the king, the treasurer, the equerry, the war treasurer, and the master of the artillery, to account every month to the king himself, would doubtless be to-day regarded as elementary principles in finance: at that time these were excellent and admirable measures of reform. It was these financial reforms which enabled Charles VII. to create in France a military force dependent on the king alone. Since the time of Charles V. the ordinary indirect taxes had been permanent; from the time of Charles VII. on, the land tax for the pay of the soldiers became perpetual, that is, continued to be levied without being voted by the States-General. But at the same time the king guaranteed good administration of justice in financial matters, by declaring the Cour des Aides, which judged financial cases in the last resort, to be a sovereign court.

Creation of the Parliaments of Toulouse (1443) and Grenoble (1453); Legal Reforms. — After an expedition in Gascony and Languedoc in 1442, the king established a Parliament at Toulouse for Languedoc and Guienne (1443). This was the first dismemberment of the Parliament of Paris. Suitors in the South gained by not having to go so far for justice, and the new Parliament kept constant watch in the king's behalf over these remote and turbulent provinces. The dauphin erected in his appanage, in 1453, the Parliament of Grenoble.

If in the fifteenth century there could be no thought of subjecting all Frenchmen to a uniform law, it was at least possible to make partial escape from the chaos of the *coutumes* and the arbitrary character of customary jurisprudence. Charles VII. designed and began the work of preparing an authoritative written text of each of these *coutumes*.

Pragmatic Sanction (1438); End of the Schism (1449). — In 1432 Charles, accusing Popes Martin V. and Eugenius VI. of favoring the English and of giving prelacies to foreigners, had ordained that no one should be admitted to ecclesiastical benefices, who was not a subject of the realm and

well affected towards the king. Six years later he went further. He assembled the clergy of France at Bourges and presented for its acceptance an ordinance or *pragmatic sanction*, which recognized the authority of general councils as superior to that of the Pope, restored to churches and abbeys the right of electing their heads, forbade the payment of annates, reservations, and provisions, and permitted the reception and publication of papal bulls in France only after approbation by the king. The great schism of the West ended in this reign by the declaration of obedience which the fathers of the Council of Basel made to Nicholas V.

Renewal of Hostilities with England; Conquest of Normandy (1449-50). — With all these reforms accomplished, Charles felt himself strong enough to bring matters to a conclusion with the English. An Aragonese adventurer in the service of England, failing to receive money from the government of Henry VI., attacked in time of peace a rich town of Brittany, and gave it to his men to plunder in compensation for their arrears of pay. Immediately the king of France and the Duke of Brittany demanded reparation and indemnity from the English governor of Normandy. As the indemnity was not forthcoming, the French proceeded to take it themselves. Dunois entered the province with a strong army. Lisieux, Mantes, Vernon, Évreux, Louviers, and Coutances were taken, or delivered up by the citizens without striking a blow.

England was then upon the verge of the War of the Roses, and troubled herself little about Normandy. The governor, Somerset, instead of concentrating his forces, scattered them in twenty garrisons: in negotiation he showed equal want of skill. Good order and ability were now on the side of the French, and victory passed over to them. In October, 1449, they appeared before the walls of Rouen. In a moment all the bourgeoisie of Rouen was in arms; but against the English, who withdrew into the castle, and were compelled to surrender, delivering to the king of France, with Rouen, the whole lower course of the Seine.

England, pushed to extremities, sent Thomas Kyriel with six thousand men into Normandy. It was her last effort. In April, 1450, near the village of Fourmigny, the constable de Richemont and the Count of Clermont attacked the English vigorously. Kyriel was defeated and left four thousand men upon the field. Vire, Bayeux, Avranches,

Caen, Domfront, and Falaise fell at once into the power of Charles. Finally, Cherbourg surrendered, and all Normandy had been acquired in a single year. What was more, the French army had become disciplined and obedient.

Conquest of Guienne; End of the Hundred Years' War (1451-1453). — A month afterward, Dunois with twenty thousand soldiers marched against Guienne. The suburbs of Bordeaux were carried without difficulty. The burgesses of the town, well affected to England, who bought their wines, attempted defence, but soon opened the gates to the French (1451).

Soon, however, the great city began to regret the English rule. It was now obliged to pay taxes and to furnish soldiers. The harbor was deserted, the warehouses were filled with unsold goods. The government of Henry VI. or, to speak more exactly, the government of Margaret of Anjou, needed a great success abroad in order to recover their prestige at home. The octogenarian Talbot was charged to bring back Guienne to the English rule. The first steps were easy. The inhabitants of Bordeaux themselves admitted the English into their town, in September, 1452; almost all the province followed this example; and the king of France had to begin its conquest anew.

In the spring of 1451 his troops began their march toward Guienne; in July they began the siege of Castillon. Talbot hastened to attack them; but their artillery, skillfully managed by the brothers Bureau, mowed down the English ranks, and Talbot himself was slain. Then the French advanced from their fortifications and fell upon the disconcerted English, of whom they killed four thousand men. Two days after, Castillon surrendered, and other strong places soon after. The royal army closed around Bordeaux, *francs archers* overran the country; the vessels lent the king by La Rochelle and Brittany blockaded the mouth of the Gironde. Bordeaux, threatened with famine, was obliged at this time to accept such conditions as the king was willing to grant. He deprived the town of its privileges, exacted an indemnity of a hundred thousand crowns, and ordered the banishment of twenty ringleaders, with confiscation of their goods, and also the construction of three citadels commanding the town. In October, 1453, Charles VII. made his triumphant entry into Bordeaux: the Hundred Years' War was finished. The English no longer



JACQUES COEUR.

From a print in the National Library.

possessed anything in France but Calais and two small towns near it.

Capture of Constantinople (1453); the Vow of the Pheasant.

— A great event was at this moment occurring at the other extremity of Europe. Constantinople, the last fragment of the Roman Empire, had fallen, and Mahomet II. sent forward his light cavalry, even into Hungary and Friuli. He had sworn to feed his horse its oats in Rome itself, upon the altar of St. Peter. The trembling Italians and panic-stricken Germany begged for a crusade, and all eyes, all hopes, were turned toward France, which three centuries and a half before had taken the lead. But the times had greatly changed. France, still exhausted, could think only of healing its own wounds. One prince, however, might have replied to the pressing appeal of the Pontiff; he who had so carefully kept war away from his own provinces; who had grown rich and powerful amid the disasters of others, — the Duke of Burgundy. To his court all that remained of chivalry in Europe had repaired. There men talked of tournaments and feats of arms, so that one might suppose himself returned to the times of Amadis and Roland; and Philip the Good had founded the order of the Golden Fleece in the midst of the most magnificent festivities. The crusade offered to these new knights a fine opportunity, a peculiarly knightly war.

In the Middle Ages men would have put on sackcloth and ashes, would have fasted and prayed, and then would have set out, full of enthusiasm, for Constantinople or Nicæa, for Antioch or Jerusalem. At the court of Burgundy, in the year 1454, quite another course was followed; instead of a public fast, there was a colossal banquet, which would have absorbed a whole year's revenue of the king of France. At its conclusion, among other pageants, appeared a female representing Holy Church, come to implore the aid of Burgundian chivalry. Then the king-at-arms entered, holding in his hand a pheasant richly adorned with a collar of gold, pearls, and precious stones, and Duke Philip the Good took a vow, first in the name of God and the Virgin, and afterward by the ladies and the pheasant, to go and fight against the Turk. All those present imitated him, and vied with each other in the extravagance of their vows. But in the height of their ardor these knights of the fifteenth century preserved their self-possession: each of

them, the duke included, had hedged his vow with prudent conditions. By virtue of these prudent conditions the duke did not set out; no one set out; no one had ever seriously thought of setting out.

New Feudal Intrigues; the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin.— This fictitious feudalism took a far more genuine interest in the progress of French royalty, which, instead of tournaments and festivities, was making laws, organizing its finances, reforming its armies, driving out the English, and putting itself in a position to make itself feared, and therefore obeyed. Without breaking with the king of France, the Duke of Burgundy constituted himself the supporter of all the discontented: he sought to attach to himself the heads of all the great families in the kingdom. One of them, the Duke of Alençon, plotting with the English, was arrested (1456) and condemned, prince of the blood as he was, to perpetual imprisonment. Another, John of Armagnac, attempted the same: a royal army seized his county, and the Parliament condemned him to banishment (1455).

A more dangerous enemy was the very heir to the throne, the dauphin Louis. Charles, in order to occupy this restless spirit, sent him to his appanage of Dauphiny. There he turned the province upside down, doubtless effecting many improvements, but often also making changes for the sake of change; and intrigued with every one, with the king's ministers and with his enemies, with the Duke of Alençon and the Duke of Burgundy, and gathered around him all those who were odious to Charles VII. In other words, he was as dangerous in Dauphiny as he had been in France. Finally, Charles sent a military force into Dauphiny. Louis fled into Franche-Comté, whence he went to take refuge with the Duke of Burgundy. His hosts lavished honors and money upon him; they put themselves entirely at his disposal; they refused him only one thing: namely, the loan of an army with which to make war upon his father. The duke, already old, wished to end his life in peace. A war against France would have disturbed everything. It would have become necessary to increase the taxes, which perhaps would have provoked rebellion in those terrible communes of Flanders: he would have had virtually to abdicate, by entrusting the command of the armies to his son, the young Count of Charolais. And who could tell what would become, in a prolonged contest, of these heterogeneous Burgundian

territories ? For all these reasons the Duke of Burgundy, naturally a peaceable man, was disinclined to make war.

Death of Charles VII. (1461). — But at the court of France there was uneasiness. Louis, from his retreat at Gennepe, was spreading intrigues throughout the kingdom. Charles VII. for a moment thought of transferring the crown to his second son. He believed the dauphin capable of anything, and feared removal by poison. His constitution was weakened by excesses. Finally an incurable abscess formed in his mouth, and he died in July, 1461.

Jacques Cœur. — Two great acts of ingratitude and iniquity rest upon the memory of this prince : the cowardly abandonment of Jeanne d'Arc to the English, and the condemnation of Jacques Cœur. This great citizen had at first been a mercer. He had travelled in Italy and the Levant. He had sought in Syria and in Egypt the merchandise of the East, and numerous vessels sailed the Mediterranean on his account. Called from Bourges by Charles VII. to take the office of *argentier royal*, that is to say, administrator of the revenues of the domain, he was associated for twelve years with the most important affairs of the government, and brought to the councils of the king and the management of his revenue, his clear intelligence and rigid honesty. He always knew how to provide in season the necessary resources for war, drawing upon his own treasury when there was no money in that of the king. "Sire, what I have is yours," he used to say to the king. The courtiers took him at his word : after a most unjust trial, they divided his spoils and caused him to be imprisoned in a convent. But his former agents, uniting, took him from it by force, and conducted him to Rome, where he was received by the Pope with great honor (1455). He died the next year at Chios. Jacques Cœur had not only opened a new route to French commerce, but established relations between France and the Mohammedan princes. In 1447 the sultan of Egypt sent an embassy to the king.

The receiver-general of the kingdom was also condemned, and perhaps with equal injustice. The feudal aristocracy loved to take revenge for the superior abilities of the men of business and the fortunes which they acquired so rapidly, but not always scrupulously. For a long time yet, financiers, merchants, and manufacturers had to submit to the haughtiness of the nobility, before taking its place.

Alain Chartier. — The battle of Agincourt had cost France a graceful poet, Duke Charles of Orleans, who whiled away his long exile in England by the cultivation of poetry. But, strange to say, in these melodious verses of the exiled prince there is no remembrance of France, not a word for her misfortunes. The miseries of the country, which penetrated so deeply into the soul of Jeanne d'Arc, touched the patriotic heart of a young Norman poet, Alain Chartier, not unjustly called the father of French eloquence.

End of the Middle Ages. — The reign of Charles VII. ended the Middle Ages so far as France is concerned, and began modern times. In the centuries preceding, France had been the first to give shape to the feudal system, to begin the crusades, to originate chivalry, scholasticism, and Gothic architecture, and to organize the bourgeoisie. With Charles VII. it had returned to the Roman system of standing armies and permanent taxes; under Louis XI. it was to complete the destruction of the aristocracy. It was therefore the Roman idea of absolute monarchy which France took up anew and proceeded to realize. The other states of Europe were to follow France in this new path; but, as it preceded them and guided them in it, it was to be the first to reap the profits, and even as it held the preponderance in Europe during the feudal epoch, it was also to hold it during the monarchical epoch.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

LOUIS XI. (1461-1483) : HIS REIGN TO THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER.

(1461-1472 A.D.)

Louis XI. — Feudalism supposed that it was saved by the accession of the dauphin. The Duke of Burgundy and an enormous train of great lords and retainers accompanied him to his consecration at Rheims. Philip the Good appeared almost to be the real king. He was at any rate the king's protector, who had given him shelter in time of persecution. So Louis refused him nothing: he allowed him as a mark of honor to nominate twenty-four counsellors to the Parliament, none of whom, it is true, was ever allowed to take his seat; he granted him free passage of merchandise from one frontier to the other, on condition that the Parliament should register the concession, and took good care that the Parliament should never register it; he, at his request, pardoned the Duke of Alençon, and kept the duke's children and strongholds. The Duke of Burgundy returned, loaded with honors and fine speeches, but ruined. Then Louis XI. set to work and began in reality that reign which, however we may judge the king himself, must be reckoned among the most important in French history.

Forces still at the Disposal of Feudalism. — The reign opened in the midst of the most favorable circumstances, so far as foreign affairs were concerned. None of the states which touched France were in a position to disturb Louis XI. in the enterprises which he proposed. But the internal condition of France offered many obstacles. Feudalism still had considerable forces at its disposal. It had at its head an aristocracy of appanaged princes, relatives of the kings, powerful families, rich because of their vast domains, proud of their origin, formidable by reason of their claims to royal independence. They were like so many lesser states placed upon the flanks and in the centre of the kingdom: the house of Brittany, with its old traditions of independence and its

too friendly relations with England; the house of Bourbon, mistress of five or six great provinces in the heart of France; the house of Anjou (Anjou, Maine, Provence), fortunately weakened by the dispersion of its estates and by its foreign ambitions; the house of Orleans blockading Paris with its possessions, so to speak; the houses of Alençon and of Artois; and finally the house of Burgundy, with its territories and dependencies in the east, in the Netherlands, and on the Somme, and the exemption from all royal control granted by the treaty of Arras. Then there were in the south the houses of Penthievre, Foix, Armagnac, Albret, and La Trémouille; of St. Pol in Picardy, of Montmorency, Laval, La Tour, Clermont-Tonnerre, and Châlon.

Precipitate Reforms; Discontent of the People, University, Parliament, Clergy, and Nobility. — At the beginning of his reign, Louis XI. made many enemies by precipitate reforms. He removed most of the officers appointed by his father, and restored those whom the latter had condemned. The people expected a diminution of taxes; but the perpetual *taille* was raised from 1,800,000 livres to 3,000,000, and a riot breaking out at Rheims, he hanged a large number of citizens and cropped the ears of others. He notified the University of Paris of a papal prohibition of their mixing in the affairs of the king and the city and of closing their classes at unseasonable times; that is, pouring out twenty-five thousand students into the streets all ready for a riot. The judges of the Parliament were no better treated: the king restrained the singularly extended jurisdictions of the Parliaments of Paris and Toulouse by erecting at their expense, in 1462, the Parliament of Bordeaux. He had already while dauphin organized, in 1453, that of Grenoble. In 1479 he founded that of Dijon. The Church was not better satisfied; the pragmatic sanction of Bourges seemed to Louis to give too much independence to the clergy and too much power to the nobility. He revoked it in spite of the remonstrances of the Parliament, and demanded of the Church and the churchmen an exact list of all their property, in order that he might check their encroachments.

The aristocracy was still more seriously threatened. It saw the king bestowing titles of nobility with a lavish hand and putting restrictions upon their rights of hunting, in order to defend agriculture against the injuries of aristocratic amusements. At the same time he availed himself

of feudal principles so far as to reclaim obsolete feudal dues and arrears, and demanded immediate payment of them. The highest ranks of nobility, even, found themselves attacked. He deprived the house of Bourbon of the government of Guienne and gave it to a member of the house of Anjou, in order to embroil these two families. He deprived his brother Charles of his government of Berry. With the house of Brittany he had many disagreements.

Foreign Policy of Louis XI.—This activity, more ardent than wise, appears from the beginning even in foreign politics. In his first year he began negotiations with the Duke of Milan and the Florentines, in order to recover Genoa and to restore Naples to the house of Anjou, which would have made him the arbiter of Italy. But finally, instead of dominating it by his armies, he resigned himself to the policy of holding it by alliances. In 1463 he ceded Genoa to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, but he arranged that Galeazzo, the duke's son, should marry Bonne of Savoy, his sister-in-law. Sure thus of Piedmont, in which his father-in-law ruled; of Milan, in which his nephew was to rule; of Florence, which regarded him as its protector, he exercised a strong influence throughout the peninsula. When Francesco Sforza died suddenly in 1466, he declared that he would spare neither men nor money in order to guarantee to Galeazzo his inheritance; the Florentines, instigated by him, spoke with equal decision, and peace was maintained.

Lending two hundred thousand crowns to the king of Aragon, then in great straits, Louis received Roussillon and Cerdaña in pledge (1462). He made it still more his object to regain possession of the towns which his father had surrendered in 1435 in order to obtain the Burgundian alliance. The old duke, vigorously importuned, and always short of money because of his magnificent expenditure, promised to accept the ransom of these towns, hoping, however, that the king would not be able to get together the necessary four hundred thousand crowns. In a few days Louis had them: he would have exhausted the exchanges of all his good towns rather than not pay them; and the important line of the Somme came again into his power. The Count of Charolais, the violent-tempered son of the Duke of Burgundy, would not pardon this acquisition, wrung from the old age of his father. He had, moreover, other grievances.

League of the Public Weal (1465). — Louis had not reigned four years before every one was against him. The people, forced to meet by taxation governmental necessities which they did not yet understand; the bourgeoisie, injured in their class interests; the clergy, threatened in respect to their property; the lesser nobility, threatened in respect to their dearest rights and habits; the upper aristocracy, threatened in their claims of sovereignty, — all these classes, so profoundly different, so often hostile to each other, found themselves temporarily united in one point: their common desire to circumscribe the royal authority. The king tried to calm this general animosity by a new means, by addressing himself to public opinion. He assembled at Rouen the deputies of the northern towns, and in the presence of these simple burgesses he, the king, condescended to justify all that he had done. After the burgesses, he assembled the princes; he addressed them with that prodigious eloquence of which he was master. He recounted to them the whole story of his life, his exile and misfortunes, the embarrassments which had surrounded him at his accession, and all the good that he had already accomplished: the assuring of order, the re-establishment of security, the aggrandizement of French territory. The royal harangue made an impression upon all the lords; yet scarcely had the assembly dissolved when they were concerting measures for attacking him. They drew over to their side the Duke of Berry, his brother, a young man of eighteen, and made him their head. This rising of feudal society against the royal authority was called by the princes the League of the Public Weal: they were acting only out of pity for the misfortunes of the kingdom “under the discord and piteous government of Louis XI.”

Louis counted upon the aid of the old Duke of Burgundy. But in March, 1465, Philip the Good fell into a state of dotage, and the Count of Charolais, Charles the Rash or the Bold, took the direction of affairs. At once the dukes of Bourbon, Berry, and Brittany issued their manifestoes. Then came the hostile declarations of the other nobility. Every one seemed eager to join the League of the Public Weal. Louis judged that so many princes, lords, and armies would not easily be got into motion, and that he might win the day by superior activity. His plan was soon formed; to check in the north the advance of Charles the Rash on Paris, in the west that of Duke Francis II.; to use the

respite thus gained to crush the Duke of Bourbon and the allies of the south between his own army, the Italian troops which Francesco Sforza was sending him, and the auxiliaries which his good friends the lords of Armagnac and Nemours would bring him; then to return and defeat separately the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy before they could unite.

Battle of Monthéry (1465).—The king took the field with that disciplined army and excellent artillery which his father had bequeathed to him. But his difficulties constantly increased. The Count of Armagnac and the Duke of Nemours came indeed, but it was to join the king's enemies. There were similar treasons in the west and in the north. The Bretons and the Burgundians were allowed to enter the kingdom. In July Charles the Bold appeared in the outskirts of Paris without having encountered any obstacle. The possession of Paris was a matter of life and death to Louis XI., who, leaving the Duke of Bourbon and the southern confederates, thought now of nothing else than how to get back into his capital. He sent flattering letters to it. But Paris seemed insensible to the royal cajoleries. Its most influential body, the University, declined to arm its students. The burgesses and the people showed similar coolness. Louis XI. had therefore strong reasons for hastening. Moreover, the dukes of Brittany and Berry were advancing, and it was important to arrive before they did.

On the morning of the 16th of July the king found himself at Monthéry. The Burgundians barred his path; the king eluded them. It was done at the expense of his left wing, but he had attained his end; leaving the count to sound his trumpets over the field of battle to show that he had gained the victory, he hastened to enter Paris. He armed the burgesses; he accepted the assistance of a council of six burgesses, six members of the Parliament, and six clerks of the University, endeavoring by all means to gain Paris, and believing that if he had Paris he would have France, whatever should happen. Meanwhile among the confederates nothing was done in concert or in season. The young dukes of Berry and of Brittany advanced slowly; but jealousies between them revived. The Duke of Berry, as future king, already excited distrust, especially on the part of the Count of Charolais.

Treaties of Conflans and St. Maur (1465).—Though Louis XI. was a man of much personal bravery, his favorite com-

bats were those of intelligence, finesse, and deception. So he negotiated incessantly ; sought to sow divisions between these lords, who were already so little in agreement ; and spared neither money nor promises. As it became evident that the league would result in nothing, some found it already a safer plan to sell themselves to the king. Armagnac, Nemours, and the Count of St. Pol were among the number, the first demanding money, the second domains, the third the constable's sword. Nothing was refused, and the king saw the league already dissolved by his address, the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy isolated and perhaps mutually hostile. Unfortunately the king could not be everywhere present at once, and wherever he was not present he was betrayed. Pontoise, Rouen, Évreux, Caen, Beauvais, Péronne, went over to the princes. This movement might gain them Paris. Louis perceived that it was necessary to bring negotiations rapidly to a conclusion. Peace was concluded in October (treaties of Conflans with Charolais, and of St. Maur with the princes). His brother was given Normandy, the suzerainty of the county of Eu, and the duchy of Alençon, with the nomination to offices in them. The Duke of Burgundy exacted Boulogne, Guines, Péronne, and the towns of the Somme ; the Duke of Brittany, Étampes and exemption from appeals to Parliament, the direct nomination of bishops, dispensation from feudal dues, the right of coining money, and in a word, a little kingdom ; the Duke of Lorraine, the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, the counts of Armagnac and Dunois, and many others, domains and enormous pensions, without counting promises for the future.

All this was not exactly evidence of regard for the public weal. Still it was necessary to have an appearance of doing something for it. It was accordingly agreed that a commission of thirty-six notables should be charged to make inquiry into abuses and disorders, with full power to remedy them by an ordinance which the king should, without fail, sanction within a fortnight.

Intrigues to embarrass the Duke of Burgundy ; Normandy retaken by the King (1466).— Such a treaty, strictly executed, would have ruined the monarchy and France. But one might be sure that Louis XI. would not execute it if there were any chance to do otherwise, and already the Parliament, thoroughly under his control, was refusing to

register it. Warned by severe experience, Louis resolved to be henceforth more prudent; but his prudence would make use of all resources, stratagem, perfidy, cruelty.

The cession of Normandy was especially dangerous; for by this province, the domains of the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy touched each other, and all the coast from Nantes to Dunkirk was open to the English. Louis from the first day of the treaty began devising means to get back the gift. The Duke of Brittany and the new Duke of Normandy were soon embroiled. Aided by circumstances, Louis kept Charles of Charolais employed elsewhere. The free city of Liège had risen in revolt against its bishop, and, encouraged by the king of France, had driven him out and vigorously attacked the Burgundian territory of Limburg. Dinant and Ghent followed the example of Liège. Having thus occupied Count Charles, and having bought the Duke of Brittany's acquiescence, Louis entered Normandy. In a few weeks the whole province was in his hands. The Duke of Burgundy had been unable to do more than write mildly to the king, who replied that he had been compelled against his will to act thus, that his brother and the Normans could not agree, that, moreover, an ordinance of Charles V. forbade the cession of that province as an appanage.

Charles could not make reply or act, and the heads of the other princely houses also refrained from interference, the king having won them over one after another, or purchased their neutrality. The house of Bourbon had been won by giving to Duke John almost a kingdom to rule in the centre and the south of France, and to the duke's brother, Pierre de Beaujeu, the hand of the king's daughter Anne in marriage; the house of Anjou by other presents; the house of Orleans by attaching old Dunois to his cause; finally, the friend and confidant of Charles the Bold, the Count of St. Pol, by making him constable of the realm, captain of Rouen, and governor of Normandy. The king won over the burgesses, and especially those of Paris, with as much care as the princes. He granted them permanent possession of all offices and exemption from all taxation; he armed them, he carefully fortified their city, he made himself a citizen of Paris as far as he could.

New Coalition against the King (1467). — No one henceforth thought of disputing the king's possession of Normandy. Charles the Rash, who this year became the Duke

of Burgundy, unable to do anything alone, allied himself with Edward IV. of England. Duke Francis II. of Brittany, also, alarmed by the rapid successes of the king, turned anew against him, occupied Caen and Alençon, summoned the English to his aid, and offered them their choice of twelve fortresses.

States-General of Tours (1468). — In the presence of this new danger Louis assembled at Tours the States-General of the kingdom, and asked them simply if they desired that Normandy should cease to be part of the domains of the crown. The States replied with a decided negative, and declared that the king's brother ought to content himself with the sixty thousand livres a year offered him. As for the Duke of Brittany, he should be summoned to evacuate the towns which he had seized, and if he did not do so, should be driven out by force; and the Duke of Burgundy should be invited to assist in carrying out these measures. Then Louis rapidly reduced the Duke of Brittany to submission.

Interview of Péronne (1468). — Thus relieved of danger from the Bretons, and having under his orders an excellent army and a fine body of artillery, the king might, it would seem, have accepted the conflict with the Duke of Burgundy. But Louis XI. was not fond of battles, in which there was so great scope for chance, for cowardice, or for treason. He remembered the great defeats of the preceding century and of this one. He knew himself to be surrounded by traitors. He knew, moreover, his intellectual superiority over his rival, and counted on obtaining by negotiation all the substantial results of victory. But for this it was necessary to go himself. Some thought that there might be danger in putting himself thus into the hands of Charles the Rash, but the king did not fear. How could the chief of knights be guilty of public treason? Moreover, the king obtained an explicit safe-conduct from the duke. Confiding in this, he repaired almost alone to Péronne, where Charles the Bold received him with respect (Oct. 8); but he saw his most violent enemies surrounding the duke. He demanded for safety to be lodged in the castle, a castle of dismal memory, for it was in it that Herbert of Vermandois had held captive the king of France, Charles the Simple.

Meanwhile they were discussing, amicably enough, the conditions of the treaty, when, on the 10th, word came to

the duke that Liège had risen in revolt; that its bishop, Louis of Bourbon, had been killed, and with him the Burgundian envoy, Humbercourt; and that at the head of the insurgents had been seen two emissaries of the king of France. In reality, neither the bishop nor Humbercourt had been killed, and to excite such an outbreak was really quite contrary to the interest of the king. But the duke became furiously enraged, uttered frightful threats, and had the gates of the castle closed. Louis was a prisoner. "When so great a lord is taken," says Comines, "he is not delivered." We may add that, in those times, neither could he be kept; the only course was to put him to death. But then his brother Charles would ascend the throne, and his brother was at once the ally and the guest of the Duke of Brittany. Was it worth while to incur the guilt of such a crime in order to place the crown on the head of a prince devoted to the Breton influence? It seemed better to obtain from the king important concessions, to humiliate him, and by this humiliation to ruin him in the face of public opinion: a calculation as ill-conceived as the act was disloyal.

"This night, which was the third, the said duke never took off his clothes. Only he lay down two or three times upon his bed, and then he walked up and down; for such was his fashion when he was troubled. In the morning he was in greater anger than ever, using threats, and ready to do violent deeds. Finally, however, he became pacified to this extent, that if the king would swear peace, and would go with him to Liège, and aid him in avenging himself and my lord of Liège, his near relative, he would be content; and suddenly he set out to go to the king's chamber, and bear to him this proposition." The king prudently consented to both conditions. It was also agreed that his brother, in exchange for Normandy, should receive Champagne and Brie.

To give Champagne to his brother was to give it to Charles the Bold, who would have in it a direct means of communication between his estates of Flanders and his estates of Burgundy; to march against Liège, which displayed his standard, was an act of baseness; but the princes of that age put success first and honor last. Louis, therefore, followed Charles to the siege and fought there bravely. The city taken, and the cup of humiliation drained to the

dregs, he departed for Paris, first skilfully surprising the duke into consenting that the king's brother, if not content with Champagne, should have something else instead.

The King's Efforts toward Retrieval; Cardinal Balue.— Thus the wily king, taken in a snare, had given his enemies only the trouble of shutting the gate, and of dictating to him humiliating conditions if he wished to escape. Louis had henceforth but one thought, — to efface this recollection by undoing the disadvantageous treaty. Instead of the poor and dismal district of Champagne, he gave his brother the fair and fertile province of Guienne. Charles gladly accepted the exchange, which, however, at the same time removed him from the Duke of Burgundy and embroiled him with the English.

One of the king's counsellors, Balue, a man of humble origin whom he had made bishop of Angers and cardinal, had been foremost in urging him toward the interview of Péronne. Louis discovered that he was secretly in correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy. He seized him and his accomplice, the bishop of Verdun, and shut them up in two iron cages, in which they remained for ten years. He sent an army against the Duke of Nemours, who made his submission, and against the Count of Armagnac, who escaped, but suffered forfeiture of goods. At the same time the Duke of Brittany swore to renounce all foreign alliances, and the king provided the Earl of Warwick with the means for overthrowing in England Edward the Fourth, brother-in-law of Charles the Bold.

Having now again isolated the Duke of Burgundy, he ventured to attack him directly: he convoked at Tours an assembly of notables, mostly magistrates, before whom he stated his grievances against Charles, whom he accused of having attacked the ports of Normandy in time of peace, of having demanded from his vassals, though subjects of the crown, an oath to serve him against all persons "without excepting my lord the king," of having seized the goods of Frenchmen at the Antwerp fair, etc. Hereupon the notables declared that the duke had violated the treaty of Péronne; and the king, in consequence, immediately seized the places which were within his reach, — St. Quentin, Amiens, and others. He set a numerous army in the field, and the duke was taken unawares.

New Coalition against the King (1471); Death of the

King's Brother (1472).—But the Duke of Brittany, the new Duke of Guienne, and even the head of the army, the constable of St. Pol, alarmed at the rapid progress of the king, were already betraying him. A dauphin had been born in the preceding year, and the Duke of Guienne, being no longer heir to the crown, found it his interest to form anew the league of the princes. Louis, perceiving the existence of plots, thought it wise to stop and arrange a truce with the Duke of Burgundy.

So Louis XI. found it once more necessary to break through the thousand bands in which the aristocracy sought to entangle the crown. The court of his brother was the centre of all these intrigues. Through him a new and great feudal house was in process of formation. The Duke of Burgundy was offering him his only daughter in marriage; that is to say, was offering the hope of some day joining to his Aquitanian possessions estates more extended, more populous, and more wealthy than those of the king himself. The king was alarmed at the very idea of such a union. His brother now became the chief obstacle in his path. Regardless of the king's offers, Charles of Guienne made preparations for war, convoked the ban and arrière-ban of his duchy, named an enemy of the king, the Count of Armagnac, as commander of his troops, and requested the Pope to release him from his oath of allegiance. Suddenly he died, poisoned, it was rumored, by his almoner, the abbot of St. Jean d'Angély. The documents of the abbot's trial were suppressed by Louis XI., and whether the death was from poison, and if so, whether the poisoning was the deed of Louis, are questions which history cannot solve. But if the king's guilt remains doubtful, there is no doubt of the joy which the illness and death of his brother caused him.

War with the Duke of Burgundy (1472).—This event destroyed all the Duke of Burgundy's plans. In his resentment he published a manifesto in which he accused the king of lese-majesty, treason, and parricide. To avenge the prince, he crossed the Somme and entered the kingdom, swearing to put everything to fire and sword. The war was indeed conducted as the duke announced. On capturing the little town of Nesle he ordered that every one in it should be put to death. Men, women, and children were massacred in the great church, in which they had taken refuge.

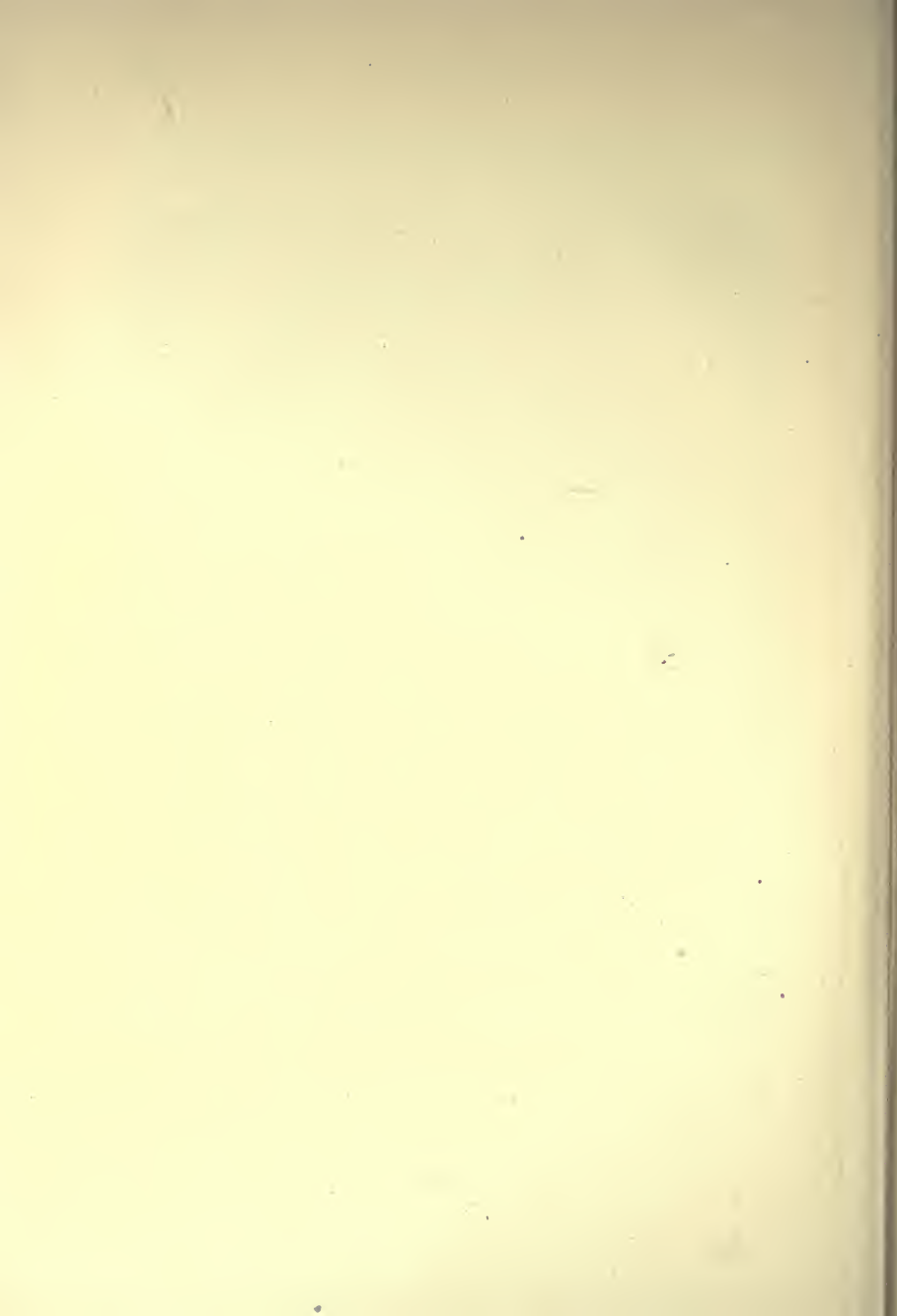
Such slaughter was a warning to the other towns to defend themselves well; so when the Burgundian army arrived before Beauvais, the burgesses stoutly resisted its assault; even the women took part in the defence, one of them, famous under the name of Jeanne Hachette, especially distinguishing herself. Charles was not prepared to undertake a siege, and after a new assault, which cost him fifteen hundred men, he broke up his camp and turned toward Normandy, burning all small towns that lay in his path, but followed close at hand by the French, who cut off his supplies. Repulsed before Dieppe, he returned to Rouen, where he waited for the Duke of Brittany; then, accusing Francis II. of failing to keep his promise, he retreated to his estates. Duke Francis, meanwhile, had been repeatedly defeated by the king, and in October signed an advantageous peace. Soon after Charles the Rash also accepted a truce.

The treaty of Péronne, by which it was supposed that the king of France would be reduced so low, was brought to naught. And since the king had extricated himself so skilfully from so bad a situation, all prudent men began to think that if one must chose a master it was best to take Louis XI. Philippe Comines, the counsellor of the Duke of Burgundy, and Odet d'Aydie, lord of Lescun, the counsellor of the Duke of Brittany, the two men most capable of comprehending and practising the politics of stratagem and of success, both passed over at this time into the service of the king of France.



LOUIS XI.

From a print in the National Library.



CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XI.

(1472-1483 A.D.)

The Duke of Burgundy and his Territories. — Comines and Lescun were right in judging that success was henceforth to be on the side of the king of France. Duke Charles was preparing his own destruction by attempting a task beyond his powers. His possessions were composed of the duchy and county of Burgundy and of the Netherlands ; in other words, of a French part and a Flemish part, a feudal part and a communal part, and with no communication between them. Such a state, without natural boundaries, without centre, without national language, could not, at an epoch when great nationalities were forming, be otherwise than frail and ephemeral.

Ancient Lotharingia had included, in the south, all the lands between the Cévennes and the Alps, in the north all those between the Rhine and the Scheldt. To expand to these limits was the design which the duke entertained. The difficulties of such a task are manifest. Its accomplishment would require successful contest against France, Germany, Switzerland, Lorraine, and Provence, all of which would feel themselves threatened by such a revival of Carolingian arrangements. Next, it would be necessary to fuse together all these peoples, to induce the men of Marseilles and the men of Nymwegen to live together under one rule, to find a real centre to this long strip of territory, to subdue the unconquerable communes of Flanders, the stout soldiers of Dauphiny, the Swiss mountaineers, to substitute uniformity for all this utter diversity,—a task in reality impossible.

Acquisitions (1466-1473).—In 1468 and 1473 we see some steps taken toward governmental centralization ; the institution of a paymaster-general for all the Burgundian dominions, a common supreme court, and a uniform military organization. But Charles cared much more for acquisi-

tions than for institutions. In 1469 the old Duke of Gelderland sold him his duchy. On the death of the Duke of Lorraine, Charles compelled his heir to give up to him four strong places on the frontiers, with a right of free passage across the country. In the same year (1473) the elector of Cologne designated him as protector of that electorate. Shortly before, a needy Austrian prince, the Archduke Sigismund, had, for a small sum of money, pledged to him the landgraviate of upper Alsace and the county of Ferrette. This gave the duke a passage between Franche-Comté and Luxemburg, and a basis of operations against the free cities of the Rhine and of Switzerland (1469).

Charles desires to be crowned King.—The duke now desired public recognition of the complete practical independence which he enjoyed, and the exchange of his ducal coronet for a kingly crown. He applied to the traditional bestower of crowns, the emperor of Germany, offering to Frederick III. the hand of his daughter Mary for Frederick's son Maximilian, and with her the richest inheritance in Christendom, if Frederick would erect his Burgundian possessions into a kingdom. The proposition was accepted, and an interview arranged at Trier, at which the last details were to be fixed. But neither of the two sovereigns was willing to be the first to execute his agreement. Charles had no desire to adopt a needy and possibly troublesome son-in-law; Frederick feared to arouse opposition in the empire if he aggrandized the power of the Burgundian duke, already so menacing. The conference broke up without accomplishing its purpose.

League against the Duke of Burgundy (1474–1475).—At the same time word came to the duke that a coalition was being formed against him by the Archduke Sigismund, the towns of the Rhine, the Swiss, and the king of France. The archduke at once redeemed Alsace. The Swiss entered Franche-Comté and defeated the Burgundians in a bloody battle. Meanwhile Charles was engaged, in behalf of the elector of Cologne, in besieging the little town of Neuss, near that city: the arrival of an enormous German army compelled him to raise the siege. The Duke of Lorraine sent him a message of defiance. The king of France was seizing his towns in Picardy and advancing into Artois, and his strongest ally was making peace with King Louis.

Edward's IV.'s Invasion of France (1475).—Urged by

Charles, and needing at home the prestige of military success, Edward IV., king of England, agreed to invade France. He landed at Calais with a magnificent army, expecting to find the duke there with all his forces. Charles sent word that he could not come, but that the constable St. Pol would open all the fortresses to the English. On this assurance, Edward pushed forward to the Somme; but when he approached St. Quentin, the constable's men opened fire upon him. Edward was by this time greatly irritated toward allies who, after having summoned him to their assistance, treated him thus; the king's skill accomplished the rest. First Louis bought the king's herald, then some of the English lords, then the king himself. The latter's terms were high; he received seventy-five thousand crowns for the costs of the war, an annual pension of fifty thousand, and the marriage of his daughter with the dauphin (August, 1475). There was nothing heroic about such negotiations; but Louis had an eye to results alone, and was quite content that the treaty should be called *la trêve marchande*.

Charles conquers Lorraine (1475) and invades Switzerland (1476).—Charles also made peace with Louis XI., in order to be free to bring matters to a conclusion with Lorraine and the Swiss. Louis prudently refrained from interfering to save Lorraine, and in November Charles entered Nancy. Soon after, in midwinter, and with an exhausted army, he crossed the Jura, intending to subdue the Swiss, who had just been ravaging all Franche-Comté. These free peasants were the best soldiers in the world, but Charles utterly despised them. Attacking the little town of Granson, he, in order to induce the garrison to surrender, promised them their lives; then, when they had surrendered, he had them hanged. All Switzerland was aroused at the news of this perfidy. The confederated army of Schwyz, Bern, Solothurn, and Freiburg marched to Granson and fell upon the Burgundian troops in a narrow plain where their cavalry and artillery could not readily be used, and where the Swiss infantry, with their long spears, easily had the advantage. The unexpected arrival of the forces of Uri, Unterwalden, and Luzern completed their discomfiture, and they fled in panic. The duke's losses were small, but his prestige was destroyed. His sword, his tent, his diamonds, his ducal seal, even his collar of the Golden Fleece, remained in the hands of the Swiss.

The duke gave himself up wholly to thoughts of revenge. He gathered together soldiers from all sides in order to form a new army. With thirty-six thousand men he set out for Lausanne, expecting rapid successes. But while he was delayed for three weeks before Morat, the cantons gathered together their forces and received assistance from abroad. Then the Swiss army set out from Bern. Charles the Rash, though warned, took no precautions. Even when the Swiss were already at his intrenchments he still refused to believe that they would dare to attack him. But they rushed upon him with their usual impetuous valor, seized his batteries, shut in the Burgundians between their main body, their rear-guard, the garrison of Morat, and the lake, and slaughtered eight or ten thousand men, in addition to those who were drowned.

Battle of Nancy (1477); Death of the Duke of Burgundy.

—The great Duke of Burgundy, defeated and forced to flee, soon found himself obliged to make head against the Swiss, Louis XI., and the young Duke of Lorraine, whom he had dispossessed. This last attack was the most dangerous, for Lorraine was the connecting link between his provinces, the natural centre of the Burgundian empire. Charles hastened to relieve Nancy. He was too late; the city had been taken three days before. But Charles immediately set himself to recover it. His enemies pushed their preparations rapidly. Louis XI. and the Duke of Lorraine hired German and Swiss mercenaries; the duke appeared before Nancy with twenty thousand men in January, 1477. Charles had only four thousand soldiers; but no remonstrance could move him to avoid battle. The very next day he moved upon the enemy through deep snow, expecting rather to perish than to win. In a few minutes the little Burgundian army was scattered, captured, or slain. The duke himself perished by the hand of an unknown enemy. Louis XI. was filled with delight at the news.

Ruin of the House of Alençon (1473-1474). — As soon as Louis had seen Charles the Rash begin to engage in these hostilities, he perceived that the duke would have occupation enough for a time, and that he himself would have opportunity to settle matters with those who had so many times turned against him. At his accession he had released the Duke of Alençon from the imprisonment to which Charles VII. had condemned him, in commutation of his

death-sentence. Alençon, on being set free, proceeded to assassinate those who had borne witness against him; he counterfeited money, and entered into the League of the Public Weal and all the conspiracies formed against the king; he even offered to sell his duchy of Alençon and his county of Perche to the Duke of Burgundy. In 1473 Louis had him arrested and delivered over to the Parliament, taking the precaution to distribute his property among his judges in advance. The court for the second time condemned him to capital punishment. The king granted him his life, but kept him in prison until he died, two years later. His innocent son, by the arts of those to whom the father's property had been granted, was entrapped into writing to the Duke of Brittany, to ask for an asylum in his dominions, and was then condemned to perpetual imprisonment for having done it.

Ruin of the House of Armagnac (1475). — John V., the wicked Count of Armagnac, tried before the Parliament in Charles VII.'s time on charges of incest, murder, and forgery, had been condemned, but had escaped. One of the first acts of Louis XI., on his accession, was to restore to him his domains, and grant him complete immunity for all his crimes. The count's gratitude was of the sort that might have been expected. He was constantly found among the enemies of the king, an ally of the Duke of Burgundy, of the Duke of Guienne, of the king of England. Louis seized the first moment of tranquillity which the ambitious projects of Charles the Bold afforded him, to punish Armagnac. In 1473 he sent the cardinal of Alby to besiege Lectoure. During negotiations the cardinal seized a gate of the town. John of Armagnac was slain before the eyes of his wife; she, then in pregnancy, was poisoned; and the soldiers committed such slaughter that only seven of the inhabitants remained alive.

Ruin of the House of Nemours (1477). — The house of Nemours was a younger branch of the house of Armagnac. At the beginning of his reign, Louis had unwisely given to Jacques d'Armagnac, under the name of the duchy of Nemours, immense possessions in the regions of Meaux, Châlons, Langres, Sens, etc. The League of the Public Weal came, and Nemours went over to the king's enemies. At the time of the treaty of Conflans he returned to Louis, swore fidelity to him, and received from him the govern-

ment of Paris and Île-de-France; less than a year afterward he was again found among the enemies of the crown. Frightened by the measures taken against his kinsman of Armagnac, he made a new submission, and took a new oath of the most solemn character. Two years later, at the height of the king's difficulties, the duke refused him all aid, and, watching events, stood ready to seize Languedoc. When delivered from danger of the English, Louis besieged Nemours in his castle of Carlat, took him prisoner, and had him conducted to the Bastile, loaded with chains, and placed in an iron cage, with orders that he should never be taken out of it except in order to be tortured, and that he should be tortured thoroughly "and made to talk." Judges among whom the king had, according to his custom, divided in advance the property of the accused, took down his confession and drew up the indictment, on which he was then brought before the Parliament. Nemours confessed all and wrote a most touching letter to the king. Three members of the Parliament voted in his favor. Louis forthwith suspended them from their office, regardless of the remonstrances of their colleagues. Condemnation was pronounced, and the duke beheaded (1477).

A brother of John of Armagnac and a member of the powerful house of Albret, detected in plots, were imprisoned and beheaded respectively. These executions taught the nobles of the South, so often rebellious, to respect the law and the king. The king of Aragon, who had pledged Roussillon to Louis, stirred up rebellion in the province, hoping thus to recover it without having to restore the money. Louis sent a good army, which took Perpignan, and closed access to France on that side (1474).

Ruin of the House of St. Pol (1475). — There remained still another lord to be punished, one upon whom Louis had bestowed money, estates, the captaincy of Rouen, the government of Normandy, and, with the office of constable, the defence of the kingdom. This man, the Count of St. Pol, who had both French and Flemish fiefs, determined to create for himself an independent sovereignty between England, France, and Burgundy. He had worked at this scheme for ten years, deceiving in turn the English, the Burgundians, and even Louis XI. Louis was therefore the more implacable in his resentment when, by the exchange of the count's letters, the three powers saw how they had

been duped by him. On the approach of the French troops, the constable, thinking that in spite of all he would still have an asylum with his old friend, the Duke of Burgundy, fled to Mons. But a bargain was arranged between the Duke of Burgundy and the king; Louis abandoned the Duke of Lorraine to Charles, and the Burgundian prince delivered up the constable, who was transported to the Bastille, closely questioned, and promptly beheaded.

Extension of the Royal Power. — The existence of France depended upon the realization of two things, — territorial unity and governmental unity. This twofold unity, vaguely appreciated, was the end of all the acts of Louis XI.; securely to establish the royal government by reducing the aristocracy was the main effort of his whole reign. For this he used every means, striking down some of the great families, as has been narrated, seeking to attach others to his side: the house of Bourbon, by giving his daughter in marriage to the old duke's brother and heir, Pierre de Beaujeu; the house of Orleans, by giving his second daughter, Jeanne, to Duke Louis; the house of Anjou, by extorting from old Count René and his nephew a will which made the king heir of Maine, Anjou, and Provence; the house of Brittany, last and most endowed with vitality of all the great fiefs, by extending his possessions as far as possible toward it, and by drawing to his court all the serviceable Bretons who would accept his offers.

Burgundian Succession; the Austrian House in the Netherlands. — The death of Charles the Rash had opened a question which was of the gravest consequence to France. As Charles left only a daughter, what was to become of the Burgundian possessions? Louis' first project was to acquire the whole of it by a marriage; but several others conceived the same design. Five candidates for the hand of Mary of Burgundy appeared, among whom were the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, son of the Emperor Frederick III., and the dauphin Charles, afterward Charles VIII. This last marriage was an impossibility; it would have involved the union of a child of eight years with a princess of twenty; moreover, the Flemings would never have consented to have a count who would at the same time be king of France, and therefore far too powerful for them. Louis perceived this, and tried to take possession outright in advance. In Picardy he put forward the right of reversion to the crown, stipu-

lated in the treaty of Arras; in Artois, he made use of the feudal right of forfeiture in punishment for misdeeds of Charles toward him; in Burgundy, he made claims of feudal guardianship; and everywhere he made his plans to retain what he took. After resuming possession of the French provinces, he sent his troops into the imperial and Flemish provinces, into Franche-Comté, Hainault, and Brabant.

To cover his aggressions, Louis studiously fomented troubles in Flanders. The Flemings, who had been exceedingly ill used by Charles the Bold, had regarded his death as a signal deliverance. They proposed to bestow the young princess as they chose, and, as a first step, made her promise that she would be exclusively guided as ruler by the advice of the states of Flanders. She promised, but at the same time wrote to Louis XI. that her two chief councillors would be two Burgundians, former ministers of her father. Louis showed this letter to the envoys of Ghent; and the populace, enraged against the two councillors, demanded their death. The young countess begged the people, with tears in her eyes, to spare her two servants; but it was in vain. She would not forgive Louis the humiliation to which he had thus subjected her, and, in spite of the king of France, in spite of her own subjects, she bestowed her hand and her rich inheritance on Maximilian of Austria (1477).

Royal marriages are now mere family events, most of which have little influence on the politics of nations. It was otherwise at the end of the fifteenth century, when states were made and unmade without other reason than the unions of their masters. Among princely marriages which deserve the attention of history on account of their momentous consequences, that of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy takes a leading place. Their son, Philip the Handsome, was to marry the heiress of Castile and Aragon; the possessions of Castile, Aragon, Burgundy, and Austria were to be united in a single hand; and the overshadowing power of Charles V., the struggle of France and of Europe against the house of Austria, were to result.

Battle of Guinegate (1479). — The Flemings meanwhile began to become indignant at the encroachments of Louis in Hainault, and decided to attack Théroutanne. Crève-cœur, the general of Louis XI., on his way to relieve the town, met Maximilian advancing with a large body of Flemish troops. Crève-cœur had only half as much infantry,

but twice as many men-at-arms. With this mass of cavalry he drove Maximilian's men-at-arms from the field; but in the meanwhile his own infantry was totally defeated, and the battle lost. Yet Maximilian gained nothing substantial. He could not even take Théroutanne, and retired to Flanders, where a thousand difficulties awaited him, — revolts, insurrections, and factious opposition. He exhausted his last resources in order to extricate himself from these difficulties, pawned his wife's jewels, and fell ill of chagrin.

Treaty of Arras (1482); the King obtains Half the Burgundian Possessions. — For the king of France, on the other hand, these last years were very fruitful. Good news and inheritances came to him one upon another. In 1480 King René died; in 1481, his nephew Charles; and thus, by virtue of their wills, Maine, Anjou, and Provence devolved on Louis XI. In March, 1482, Mary of Burgundy died. She left two children, Philip and Margaret; but the Flemings formed a council of regency, and allowed Maximilian only a shadow of authority. He attempted to seize and hang some insubordinate citizens. Thereupon the Flemings turned to the king of France, and offered him, for his young dauphin, their little princess Margaret, who would bring to him as dower the French provinces of the Burgundian inheritance. They liberally added the counties of Burgundy and Artois, which were not theirs; on such a basis the treaty of Arras was easily concluded (December, 1482).

The envoys of Flanders repaired to the king at his castle of Plessis-lez-Tours: not a castle, but a fortress; a prison with iron portcullises, iron gates, drawbridges, towers, and soldiers. After traversing drawbridges and bastions they found themselves in a little chamber dimly lighted, and in a corner of the chamber they perceived a man almost entirely concealed in rich furs. It was Louis XI., struck with paralysis two years before, feeling himself dying, yet still filling Europe with his activity, redoubling his suspicions and his harshness as he grew weaker, and clinging to life and power with all his might. He caused the Gospel to be brought, upon which he was to take the oath. "If I swear with my left hand," said he, "you will excuse it; my right is a little weak;" but then, reflecting that a treaty sworn with the left hand might some time be annulled on that ground, he made an effort, and touched the Gospel with his right elbow.

Acquisitions made in this Reign. — Thus this dying king received four important provinces, — Picardy, Artois with the county of Boulogne, the duchy and the county of Burgundy, with Charolais and Auxerre. Three others, Anjou, Maine, and Provence, had come to him by will; a state trial had brought him the duchy of Alençon and Perche; the death of his brother, Guienne; his intervention in the affairs of Spain, Roussillon and Cerdaña. Thus eleven provinces were added to the domains of the crown within a single reign, without reckoning the profits gained by the execution of St. Pol, Nemours, and Armagnac. It was an immense stride toward unity of territory, and a decisive blow had been struck at the power of the great nobles.

Foreign Affairs. — France was on the way to regain that position of pre-eminence in Europe which it had so often occupied. Her alliance was sought for on all sides. Six thousand Swiss served in the king's army; Scotchmen formed his guard; he was the protector of Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence, of Galeazzo Sforza at Milan, of the young king of Navarre, the young Duke of Savoy, and the young Duke of Gelderland. He had the wisdom to obtain from these alliances only what was useful to himself. But if he avoided compromising foreign expeditions, he pursued eagerly those which were necessary. Mention has already been made of his capture of Perpignan from the king of Aragon, which secured to France its natural boundaries. Germany, under Frederick III., caused the king of France no uneasiness, nor did he fear England, as was shown by his revoking, by the treaty of Arras, the promise of marriage made in the treaty of Pecquigny.

Last Hours of Louis XI. (1483). — But the king of France, at the age of sixty, was dying, in spite of a thousand efforts made to hold on to life. He had persuaded the king of Naples to send him St. Francis de Paul, before whom he cast himself upon his knees, that the saint might prolong his life. Sultan Bajazet, for favors received, sent him relics from Constantinople. The king had caused the sacred ampulla to be brought from Rheims, and proposed, it was said, to have his entire body anointed with its oil. But remedies, prayers, and eagerness to live were unavailing. "All accomplished nothing," said Comines, "and it needs must be that he should go where others have gone." Those about him, whom he had always enjoined to announce

to him gently the approach of the end, told him bluntly that he must die. Then at length he resigned himself to it, summoned the dauphin to his bedside, gave him excellent advice, and died on the 30th of August, 1483. "Would one say," says Comines, "that this king did not suffer as well as others, who thus shut himself up and caused himself to be guarded, who was thus in fear of his children and of all his near relatives, who changed from day to day his attendants and nurses, and dared not trust in any of them, and chained himself with so strange a chain and imprisonment?"

New Parliaments; Posts; Favors to the Bourgeoisie. — Louis granted permanent tenure to the magistrates in 1467. He extended the action of the government over the remote provinces by the establishment of posts (1464), at first used only for the king's affairs and those of the Pope; by erecting the Parliaments of Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Dijon; and finally, by extending appeals to the king's court from sentences in seignorial courts. To attach the new provinces and keep the affections of the old, he preserved or granted to them provincial estates, and lent ear to their complaints. In order to gain over the burgesses and to find in their devotion an assistance against the nobles, he frequently authorized their assemblies and gave them free elections of magistrates.

Encouragement of Commerce and Letters. — Yet when the burgesses, excited by increase of taxes, rose in revolt, they were cruelly treated; many were hanged on trees along the roadsides, or cast into the river, sewn up in sacks, upon which was written, "Let the king's justice pass." All bent before his sovereign will, and the royal power came from his hands blood-stained, but feared by the nobles because of his strength, and respected by the people because it guaranteed public peace and security of roads, and because it already occupied itself with the great interests of modern societies, commerce and industry. The king built great works of fortification. He improved the highways, and summoned to court the ablest merchants to advise concerning means to further the prosperity of industries and commerce; he multiplied fairs and markets and attracted to them the merchants of the Netherlands, Savoy, and other neighboring countries by special privileges, and wrote to the sultan of Egypt to recommend to him the French who traded with

that country. Workmen from Venice, Genoa, and Florence established at Tours the first manufactures of silks. He encouraged mining industries. For the benefit of commerce he tried to bring about unity of laws and of weights and measures. What he proposed was not a simple compilation of the *coutumes*, but a labor of legislation; for he caused the laws of foreign countries, especially those of Venice and Florence, to be brought together and studied for helpful comparison.

We ought also to set down to the credit of the king, himself a man of letters, his encouragement of learning (the foundation or reorganization of the universities of Valence, Bourges, and Besançon, and of several schools of law and medicine, etc.) and the favor with which he supported the recent invention of printing. The famous poet Villon was of his time; Comines, his counsellor, still remains one of the great historians of France, an observant, acute, and thoughtful historian of subtle political intrigues.

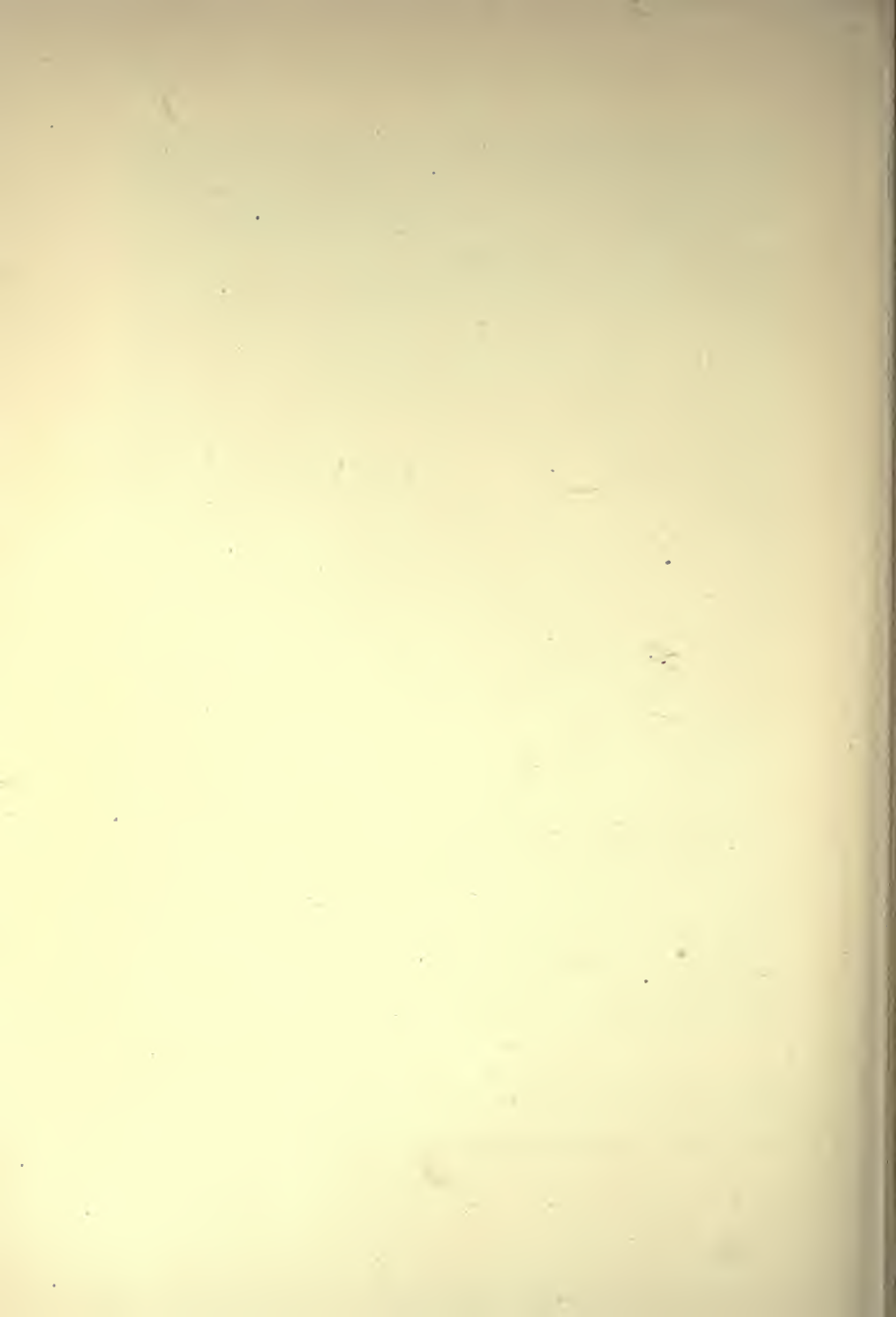
Character of Louis XI. — Louis XI. contributed more than any one else to establish the French monarchy, and is in certain respects the representative of the new spirit in politics. For by giving no recognition to birth and all to merit, he secured to intellect the place which it occupies in modern governments. Unfortunately, in his schemes intellect only too often took the form of stratagem and perfidy. Louis undertook to secure the preponderance of general interests over individual interests; but he gave an appearance of personal vengeance to measures of severity which the good of France demanded. His task was to destroy feudal society, a society which had outlived its time though still tenacious, and which must either give place or perish if it persisted in efforts to maintain itself. It persisted, fought, and perished; but the battle was conducted in such a manner that pity was felt for the conquered, and men forgot the duties of the victor; that is, the obligation under which royalty lay, at length to give unity, peace and order to the country. This duty Louis XI. fulfilled, but too often through violations of moral law. France certainly owes much to him, but he cannot be absolved from the charge of having treated all means as good which served his turn.



CHARLES · VIII · ROY DE FRANCE ·

mort en 1498

From the collection of Gaignières.



CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES VIII.

(1483-1491 A.D.)

The Royal Family. — Charles VIII., then thirteen years and two months old, was the youngest of the children of the deceased king. He was weak in physique and of a character hardly more robust. His father, caring little for a child who was sickly and of slight intelligence, kept him remote from the court, at Amboise. This feeble prince was king of France in full possession of authority; for the law fixed the majority of kings at the attainment of thirteen years. But this legal fiction deceived no one. It was well known that authority was entirely in the hands of his sister Anne, a princess of twenty-two years, who had married Pierre de Beaujeu, a younger son of the great house of Bourbon. Anne had in her favor neither the will of her father, nor the affection of her brother, nor the laws of the kingdom, nor the benefits of experience; but simply the advantage of possessing many of the qualities of Louis XI. Louis, who had said of her, "She is the least a fool of all women, for wise one there is none," had confided to her the young king's education and health. Jeanne, the younger daughter of Louis XI., was small, thin, ill-favored, hunch-backed, and so ugly that her father could not endure to see her. Married in 1476 to Louis of Orleans, she had not found in that union, which was simply a pledge of mutual reconciliation, more happiness than in her own family.

Her husband, Louis of Orleans, first prince of the blood, twenty-one years old, was entirely engrossed with gallantry, festivals, and tournaments. A man of pleasure more than of politics, he would have contented himself with being regarded as the model of knights but for his two young cousins, the counts of Angoulême and Dunois, who urged him forward. The old Duke of Bourbon, elder brother of the Sire de Beaujeu, also had his designs. The princely aristocracy was, it was thought, to take the upper hand; the

time of kings had passed, the time of princes and great nobles had returned.

Aristocratic Reaction. — Princes and nobles began their work without delay. Offices, enormous estates, and pensions were assigned to the Duke of Orleans, the Count of Dunois, the Count of Angoulême, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Duke of Bourbon; and the king was disarmed by the dismissal of the six thousand Swiss whom Louis had had in his service. Vengeance was satisfied, as well as avarice. An ordinance revoked all alienations of the domain effected by Louis XI. One by one his "evil counsellors" were taken and punished. His former enemies, on the other hand, were restored and rewarded. Those whom he had punished, John of Armagnac, traitor and murderer, Jacques of Nemours, ten times a traitor and perjurer toward State and king, were transformed into innocent victims. The brother of the one, the children of the other, laid claim to rehabilitation, and especially to restitution.

That the counter-revolution might be complete, it would have been necessary that government should have passed entirely into the hands of princes; but the aristocracy had lost the courage to maintain its former high pretensions. It referred the question of sovereignty to the States-General, convoked in January, 1484. The Duke of Orleans did not doubt that they would aid him to supplant his sister-in-law, and Anne counted confidently on using them to check all these budding ambitions.

States-General of 1484. — These States-General were in reality the first of French national assemblies. All the provinces of France sent deputies. Each order sent its own representatives, elected in local assemblies, in which even the peasants took part; so that the States of 1484 marked the entrance of the rural population upon public life, as those of 1302 had brought in the urban population; they marked the final union of burgesses and peasants. The formation of the Third Estate was now being effected. It is noteworthy that in the Assembly the deputies did not divide themselves, or vote in separate orders, but in six sections, corresponding to six great territorial regions. Finally no assembly, unless that which was directed by Marcel, asserted more vigorously the rights of the nation at large.

On the 15th of January the royal session took place in the great hall of the archbishop's palace. The young king sat

upon the throne. At his right, at some distance, sat the constable; at his left, the chancellor. Between them and the throne stood four great lords; while behind were seated two cardinals, six ecclesiastical peers, and six princes of the blood or lay peers, behind whom stood some twenty lords. Facing the king, on a little lower level, the deputies of the nation were ranged upon two semi-circular benches, the bishops, barons, and knights upon the first, the other deputies upon the second. The chancellor, in a long harangue, expressed the young king's desire to know his subjects and be known by them, announced the economy in expenses which he had prescribed, the reforms begun and proposed, his intention to provide for his personal expenses by means of the revenues of his own domain, and his need to resort to the estates for the expenses which the security of the kingdom required. Next day the estates formed their six sections or nations of France, Burgundy, Normandy, Aquitaine, Languedoc, and Provence. They chose as their president the abbot of St. Denis, first deputy of Paris, and set to work to prepare their *cahiers*, or lists of grievances. At the beginning of February this work was finished, and discussion began.

A grave question first arose: that of the guardianship and education of the king. Some deputies advanced the view that the national assembly had no right to discuss the guardianship or regency; that by the very nature of a monarchical government, power devolved upon the royal family; that if the king was unable to exercise it himself the princes of the blood of right took his place. This opinion found an eloquent opponent in Philippe Pot, Lord of La Roche, deputy for the noblesse of Burgundy, who made a speech of singular boldness, in which he urged the excessive numbers and discordant ambitions of the princes of the blood, and declared that there was a superior and sovereign authority in whom resided the power, and which alone could delegate it; namely, — the authority of the people, or the States-General composed of its deputies. He reminded them also that, in the beginning, the sovereign people had set up kings by its elective vote, and that the nation as a whole had the deepest interest in the question who should govern it. The states were therefore, according to the orator, the depositories of supreme power; nothing ought to be done without their advice or consent; and he reminded them

that this authority had already been fully exercised under Philip IV. and his sons, at the accession of Philip of Valois, and during the regency of Charles V. This discussion was interrupted by a royal session in which Jean de Rely, canon and deputy of Paris, after a long harangue to the king, began to read the *cahiers* of grievances.

Organization of the New Government. — Next the deputies attempted the nomination of the members of the council; but finally they referred all to the king, merely recommending him to listen to the advice of his council, in which twelve deputies of the estates should have seats. In the absence of the king, the Duke of Orleans was to preside over this council; in his absence, the Duke of Bourbon, then the Sire de Beaujeu. The Duke of Orleans remained nominally at the head of the government, but the Dame de Beaujeu, who had accustomed her brother to obey and fear her, by causing him to preside over the council pushed aside the Duke of Orleans, and by causing it to be presided over by her husband, a simple baron of Beaujeu, she excluded from it the Duke of Alençon and the other princes of the blood, who, more highly qualified by rank, would not sit below him. So, without any one's having foreseen it, was constituted the government of Madame, so called, which was to continue the firm and energetic administration of Louis XI.

Situation of the Kingdom according to the Cahiers. — The *cahiers* of the estates show us what was at that time the situation of the kingdom. The *cahier* of the Church demanded that the king should be crowned at once, and that he should re-establish the liberties of the Church as defined by the councils of Constance and Basel, and secured by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. That of the nobility claimed indemnities for privileges which had been taken away by Louis XI. The *cahier* of the Third Estate declared the extreme misery to which the people had been reduced by the intolerable weight of the taxes, by the exactions of the court of Rome, and by those of the soldiers, who, ceaselessly marching from province to province and quartered upon the laborer, subjected him to every sort of exaction. The deputies of Anjou, Maine, and the district of Chartres declared that in their provinces more than five hundred persons had been put to death within the last few years on pretext of having engaged

in contraband dealings in salt. To remedy these evils, the States desired that the pensions granted to the lords should be suppressed or greatly reduced; that the king should reduce his military forces to the number kept up by Charles VII., and should oblige them to observe the ordinances; that taxes should not be imposed or exacted without first assembling the States and declaring the causes and the necessities of the king and kingdom. The States also demanded the abolition of the practice of selling judicial offices, the fixing of judicial costs on a moderate scale; and finally, to accomplish all these useful reforms and to maintain good order, that the States of the kingdom should be convoked every two years.

Dissolution of the Assembly. — Unable to obtain any but falsified financial accounts, they finally granted to the king, for two years, the same *taille* which the kingdom had paid Charles VII. From that time their deliberations degenerated into disputes, often shameful disputes, between the provinces, each eager to escape its part of the common burdens. The discussions respecting the pay due to the deputies, contributed still more to discredit them. The assembly having been dissolved on the 15th of March, 1484, favorable replies to its *cahiers* were made in the king's name. But no ordinance of reform was published, and so nothing was changed in the government.

First Revolt of the Duke of Orleans (1485-1486). — The Duke of Orleans, by his fine presence, his chivalrous manners, and his taste for pleasure and dissipation, gained an influence over the young king, his brother-in-law, which soon caused Anne of Beaujeu much uneasiness. Hearing of secret plots of the princes against her authority, she at once sent troops to Paris to arrest the Duke of Orleans. The duke narrowly escaped capture. Declared a rebel, he drew over to his cause Duke Francis II. of Brittany, made an alliance with Maximilian, chagrined at the concessions of the treaty of Arras, and even requested the assistance of King Richard III. of England.

Anne of Beaujeu defeated all these plans. She kept Richard III. in his kingdom by aiding his rival, Henry of Richmond, who soon became King Henry VII. of England. She intrigued with the estates of Flanders against Maximilian; and made alliance with the nobles of Brittany against Francis II. The Duke of Orleans was captured, and compelled

to return to the court and to promise to occupy himself henceforward with his pleasures only.

The "Foolish War"; Battle of St. Aubin du Cormier (1486-1488). — But Maximilian, who some months before had been chosen king of the Romans, that is, heir of the imperial crown, broke the treaty of Arras. The league of the princes was formed anew; a League of the Public Weal, like that of twenty years before. Anne had not committed the faults of Louis XI.; she had more resources remaining, and used them with ability. Maximilian was checked in Artois (1487). The young king, set at the head of a devoted army, marched against the confederates of the southern provinces. Everywhere the burgesses took arms against the lords and the garrisons. In a few days all troubles in the south were quieted; Anne then turned toward Brittany. La Trémouille entered it with French troops in April, 1488. In July, near St. Aubin du Cormier, he totally defeated the Breton army. Three or four thousand were slain in the battle, and the number of prisoners was equally great. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were captured, and the ruin of their cause was complete. The two princes were conducted into France under guard and imprisoned. The duke, heir presumptive of the crown though he was, remained for three years in the great tower of Bourges.

Operations in the north went on with equal success. The Flemings, incited against Maximilian, drove his German troops from their country and compelled him to yield. So the Dame de Beaujeu defeated all coalitions and kept the conquests of her father: she was to add to them one great province more. After a little fighting in Brittany, negotiations were entered into. A treaty was signed at Sablé in August, 1488. The Duke of Brittany engaged to banish all the king's enemies from his estates and to give them no more aid. He also promised not to marry his daughters without the advice and consent of the king. The estates of the province signed a bond of 200,000 gold crowns to guarantee these promises, and the French kept as a pledge four strong places.

Marriage of Charles VIII. with Anne of Brittany; Acquisition of Brittany (1491). — Three weeks after the treaty of Sablé Duke Francis II. died. The marriage of his daughter Anne (the other died soon) became a question of European politics: should Brittany, the last of the great fiefs, be

united to the domains of the king of France, or should it not? The sovereigns of Europe took the liveliest interest in the independence of the province. Henry VII. promised troops and money; Ferdinand of Aragon sent both. The suitors for the hand of the young princess were numerous, and among them was the Emperor Maximilian. Had he succeeded, he would have menaced the independence of France on three frontiers. Fortunately, while his ambassador was contracting the marriage by proxy for him in Brittany, the king of France, under the able guidance of his sister, was more active and so more fortunate. French troops already occupied a large part of the province; in August, 1491, they undertook the siege of Rennes. At the beginning of October the king himself approached. When the secret negotiations had arrived at the proper point, the king made pretext of a pilgrimage to Our Lady near Rennes, and his devotions accomplished, entered the town and held a long conference with the duchess. Three days later he was betrothed to her. The marriage took place at Langeais in Touraine, in December, 1491. The king, then twenty-one years of age, and the duchess, then forty, made mutual cession of all their titles and claims to the duchy of Brittany; under this reservation, however, that if the duchess should survive the king and should have no children by him, she should not enter into any other marriage save with the future king, if it were possible, or with the heir presumptive of the crown. This marriage was the last act of Madame de Beaujeu. After having governed the kingdom for eight years with masculine ability, she returned, simply and without effort, to her duties as a wife, and confined herself to them until she died in 1522.

The marriage of Charles VIII. to the Duchess Anne brought under the royal authority the last refuge of princely independence. The province which had longest and most obstinately maintained its individuality became fused like the rest into the one great whole, the kingdom of France. Princes would never again be able to raise their standards against the king. Yet though the aristocracy was conquered, and in part despoiled, its spirit, its tastes, and its tendencies remained, and indeed exerted a strong influence upon royalty itself. The crown abandoned the bourgeois and popular fashions which it had more than once assumed and which had stood it in so good stead under Philip the

Fair and Charles the Wise, Charles the Well-Served and Louis XI. Seduced by the glorious bubble of Italian conquest, it was to assume the sword and lance of chivalry, to enter upon the path of war and conquest in imitation of the paladins of Charlemagne and the *preux chevaliers*, and, under Charles VIII., to go forth itself for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and to dream of that of Constantinople and of Jerusalem.

NINTH PERIOD.



ITALIAN WARS (1494-1515).



CHAPTER XXXVII.

FIRST ITALIAN WAR.

(1494-1498 A.D.)

Italy in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century.—At the time when the French monarchy was absorbing the last of the great fiefs, the Italian peninsula still presented all varieties of government,—monarchy in the south, theocracy in the centre, republics and principalities in the north. In that country, with its rich but corrupt civilization, the marvellous developments of the arts but imperfectly concealed a premature decline, and the brilliancy of literature did not keep from view the degeneracy of character. Wars were carried on only by means of mercenary condottieri. The loss of the military virtues is a fatal sign in any nation. Stratagems, perfidy, and falsehood were held in honor. Political difficulties were resolved by poison or the dagger. Italian diplomacy was a school of crime.

The Holy See and the States of the Church were in the hands of the infamous Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia). At Naples, King Ferdinand was universally detested. At Florence, Piero de' Medici made his despotism felt more than that of his illustrious predecessors, Cosmo and Lorenzo, had been. At Milan, Ludovico Sforza (il Moro) was plotting to displace his young nephew Galeazzo. Venice seemed at the height of her power, but Genoa was in a perpetual state of revolution. The glorious democracies of the fourteenth century had become changed into narrow oligarchies. Des-

potism had taken the place of the ancient liberty. Italy, filled with wealth, but delivered over to anarchy, was a prey reserved for the first who should dare to seize it. Charles VIII. resolved to make the attempt.

Imprudence of Charles VIII. — Louis XI. had been careful not to assert those claims to the kingdom of Naples which he derived from the house of Anjou. Charles VIII. revived them, in order to set forth and achieve great things with the sword beyond the mountains. Anne of Beaujeu vainly attempted to make him listen to the counsels of wisdom. All the old politicians gave the same advice; but the king refused to listen. He was eager for novelty, for a brilliant and glorious expedition after the fashion of the paladins of Charlemagne. The impulsive ardor of the nobility carried all before it. Moreover, Italy herself appealed to France. Ludovico, threatened by the king of Naples, invoked the aid of Charles VIII.; others, too, invoked him, — the Marquis of Saluzzo, the Neapolitan barons exasperated against their king, Savonarola, and the cardinals who were the enemies of Alexander VI.

Yet, taking into consideration the situation of France, the moment was ill chosen for a remote expedition; the neighboring powers, disturbed by the acquisition of Brittany, were forming a new league. Henry VII. was landing an English army at Calais; Maximilian was attacking Artois; Ferdinand of Aragon was undertaking to cross the Pyrenees. Charles entered into negotiations with the avaricious Henry VII., who, on promise of 745,000 crowns of gold, payable in fifteen years, returned to England; with Ferdinand the Catholic, to whom Cerdaña and Roussillon were restored; with Maximilian, who recovered for his son Artois, Franche-Comté, and Charolais, conquests of Louis XI. All these were frontiers essential to the defence of the kingdom. But what mattered it to Charles VIII.? The submission of Italy was certain, and this conquest was only the beginning of a still more glorious fortune. From Naples he hoped to cross over into Greece, to drive the Turks from Constantinople, and to recover the Holy Sepulchre. Thus began those hazardous expeditions which diverted France from internal improvement and from acquisitions more certainly within its reach.

Conquest and Loss of the Kingdom of Naples; Battle of Fornovo. — A fine army assembled with eager promptness,



MAXIMILIAN. (Lucas de Leyde.)



in August, 1494, at the foot of the Alps. It consisted of 3600 lances, 6000 Breton archers, a similar number of cross-bowmen, 8000 Gascon arquebusiers, 8000 Swiss pikemen; in all 50,000 men, with 140 large cannon, and a multitude of small pieces; "a gallant company, but little inclined to obedience." Many things necessary for so great an enterprise were lacking; neither provisions nor wagons nor ready money had been accumulated.

The king of Naples had sent his brother with a fleet along the coast by Genoa, and his son with an army toward the Apennines, to guard the approaches by sea and land. The Duke of Orleans gathered together a few vessels at Marseilles and defeated the former at Rapallo; the latter thereupon retreated. Fear seized upon the entire peninsula. The memory of the barbarian invasions was renewed; it was already too late to send back the foreigner whom they had summoned.

Charles VIII. had crossed Mont Genève on the 2d of September. He found himself short of money at the very beginning of the campaign. At Genoa he borrowed one hundred thousand francs, at a rate which, counting everything, amounted to 42 per cent. At Asti he was joined by Ludovico il Moro. Ludovico was in great fear of the Neapolitans; he conducted the conqueror across the duchy of Milan to the frontiers of Tuscany. His nephew died a little while afterward; it was believed that by assisting the king he had purchased the right to poison his nephew, and to take his place. Piero de' Medici opened his frontier fortresses to Charles, in the hope of being supported in Florence, when a Dominican monk, Savonarola, was inciting to insurrection against him; but he was quickly driven out by the people on his return. The monk-tribune, who regarded Charles VIII. as an envoy of God to scourge Italy, went out to meet the young king, and brought him into the city, which Charles entered as a conqueror.

At Rome the cardinals and nobles opened the gates to the French as to liberators, and urged the king to depose the Pope. Charles VIII. took the Pope's son, Cæsar Borgia, as hostage of the Pope's fidelity, but Cæsar escaped a few days later. Naples fell without a blow. Ferdinand I. had just died: his son Alfonzo II. had abdicated in terror. The new sovereign, Ferdinand II., attempting to fight at San Germano, found himself involved in the midst of treasons

and fled to Sicily. Charles VIII. and his troops entered Naples (February, 1495), the inhabitants strewing flowers before him. The noise of this rapid conquest crossed the sea, and already the Greeks were preparing for war, expecting their liberator, "the great king of the Franks."

Meanwhile the conquerors were thinking of nothing but of enjoying their easy victory. Charles VIII. had himself crowned king of Naples, emperor of the East, and king of Jerusalem. He showed himself to the Neapolitans in imperial garb, and "celebrated many fine tourneys and pastimes." Suddenly he learned that a formidable league of the sovereigns of Europe had been concluded against him, with the intention of cutting off his retreat from Italy and reducing France to its former limits. Ferdinand the Catholic, Maximilian, and Henry VII. were the instigators of it. The Italians themselves, who had summoned the French or promised them fidelity, Ludovico il Moro, Alexander VI., Venice, etc., joined it. Promptness was necessary. Charles left four thousand men at Naples and marched with the rest to the Apennines. After crossing that chain with great difficulty, the French discovered the army of the allies, thirty-five thousand strong, barring their road. They themselves numbered fewer than ten thousand. Nevertheless, Charles resolved to make his way through. He faced his assailants. In an hour thirty-five hundred of them lay upon the field, and the rest had dispersed. This victory of For-novo secured the retreat of the French (July, 1495).

On returning to France Charles appeared to forget Italy. Ferdinand II. set out from Sicily with a few Spanish troops, surprised Naples, and expelled the French. The French domination in the kingdom of Naples had fallen as quickly as it had risen, and amid the same demonstrations of joy on the part of the inhabitants.

Death of Charles VIII. (1498).—Warned by experience and the complaints of his people, the young king, says Comines, "set his imagination to desire to live according to the commandments of God; to put justice and the Church in good order, and also to arrange his finances, so that he did not raise from his people more than 1,200,000 francs by way of taxation, in addition to his domain, from the proceeds of which he desired to live, as in ancient times the kings did." In April, 1498, passing through a dark

gallery in the château of Amboise, he struck his head against the top of a doorway so violently that he died a few hours afterward, at the age of twenty-eight. The direct line of the Valois became extinct with him, and was replaced by that of the Valois-Orleans.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

LOUIS XII.

(1498-1515 A.D.)

Louis XII. — Charles VIII. leaving no children, the crown reverted by right to Duke Louis of Orleans, then thirty-six years old, grandson of a brother of Charles VI. Louis' grandfather had been a brilliant knight, his father a graceful poet, his uncle Dunois the bravest of the captains of Charles VII. Louis, though without superior qualities, was a man of much kindly geniality. He began his reign by the reduction of taxation, and refused the dues customary on the accession of a monarch. Though formerly the leader of the nobility against the royal authority, he retained no ill feeling toward those who had faithfully served Anne of Beaujeu against him, saying that it did not become the king of France to take revenge for the injuries of the Duke of Orleans.

A serious matter first occupied his attention. The widow of Charles VIII., Queen Anne, had retired to Brittany, and might by a second marriage carry that province to a foreign house. Louis, who had been for twenty-two years married to a daughter of Louis XI., whom he did not love, asked for a divorce. Pope Alexander granted it, and Louis immediately married the widow of his predecessor. Brittany was thus again united to France (1499), this time permanently. The easy success of the first Italian expedition then revived the taste for distant adventures. Louis XII. not only inherited the claims of Charles VIII. to Naples, but had also received from his grandmother, Valentina Visconti, claims to the Milanese, which had been usurped by the Sforzas.

Conquests of the Milanese (1499-1500). — Before attempting this conquest, Louis renewed the treaties made by Charles VIII. with his neighbors, and sought allies in Italy. The Duke of Savoy gave him passage across the Alps and engaged to follow him with his troops. Venice, Florence, and the Pope were won over. Ludovico was isolated. Trivul-

zio, the general of Louis XII., needed only to present himself in the Milanese at the head of nine thousand horsemen and thirteen thousand foot-soldiers. Ludovico fled into the Tyrol, and the French entered Milan (October, 1499).

The maladministration of Trivulzio revived the chances of Ludovico. He returned with a body of Swiss or German adventurers, and surprised Milan (February). But a new French army descended from the Alps, and encountered the troops of Ludovico, near Novara (April, 1500). The Swiss, who formed the principal strength of both armies, preferred to give up Ludovico rather than to fight against each other. The duke was captured, sent to France, and imprisoned during the rest of his life. Two of his sons succeeded in reaching Germany. The lesson which Louis XII. received was not lost. Cardinal George of Amboise, whom he entrusted with the reorganization of his conquest, treated the people of Milan kindly, set up in their capital a sort of Parliament which gave the country impartial justice, and provided a prudent and firm administration.

Partition of the Kingdom of Naples (1500-1501). — The Milanese conquered, Louis turned his thoughts to Naples. Instead of repeating the adventurous expedition of his predecessor, he entered rather upon a diplomatic campaign. He first assured himself of the neutrality or assistance of Central Italy by alliance with the Florentines and Cæsar Borgia. France thus obtained a preponderant influence in the north and centre of Italy. Louis next, in order to obtain the kingdom of Naples without striking a blow, plotted to share it in advance with Ferdinand the Catholic. All began well. The unfortunate king of Naples, at that time Frederick III., a popular prince, had confidingly opened his fortresses to the general of the king of Spain, Gonsalvo de Cordova. When he asked Spain for assistance against the French, who were already upon the frontier (June, 1501), he perceived that he was betrayed. He delivered Naples and Castelnovo into the hands of the French, retired first to the island of Ischia, then placed himself in the hands of Louis XII., who gave him a pension of thirty thousand livres and the county of Maine, where he died in 1504.

Hostilities at Naples between the Spaniards and the French (1502). — The conquest completed, the partition was not effected so amicably. The Spaniards and the French fell to blows. The French viceroy, the Duke of

Nemours, who had a considerable force present, promptly shut up his adversary, Gonsalvo, in the town of Barletta (1502). The crafty Ferdinand, by treacherous pretence of truce, succeeded in reinforcing Gonsalvo. Nemours failed to press operations. Gonsalvo was relieved; and the best lieutenant of the viceroy was defeated at Seminara (April, 1503). Nemours himself, imprudently attacking his enemy near Cerignola (April), was defeated and killed. Venusia and Gaeta alone remained in the hands of the French.

Loss of the Kingdom of Naples (1503).—Louis XII. made great preparations to avenge this treason. He sent over the Pyrenees two armies, which failed of success, and over the Alps a third, which had no better fortune. Gonsalvo de Cordova had time to put himself in a state of defence. Posted upon the Garigliano, he stopped the French, and inflicted upon them a disastrous defeat, redeemed only by the devotion of the celebrated Chevalier Bayard, who alone defended a bridge of the Garigliano.

Treaty of Blois (1504).—There was danger that the loss of the Milanese should follow that of the kingdom of Naples. Maximilian was already preparing to assert his imperial rights beyond the Alps, and Gonsalvo de Cordova was marching toward the northern part of the peninsula. Louis XII. divided and disarmed his enemies by three treaties, signed at Blois on the same day (1504). By the first Louis and Maximilian agreed to attack Venice, and to divide the spoil; by the second Louis promised the king of the Romans two hundred thousand francs in return for the investiture of the Milanese; by the third he renounced the kingdom of Naples in favor of Maximilian's grandson Charles, who was to marry Claude, daughter of Louis XII., and receive as her dowry three French provinces,—Burgundy, Brittany, and Blois. A more disastrous agreement could not have been made. Charles was to obtain by inheritance from his father, Philip the Handsome, the Netherlands; from his mother, Castile; from his paternal grandfather, Austria; from his maternal grandfather, Aragon. And now he was assured of Italy, and France was to be dismembered for him. This was virtually giving him the empire of Europe. France protested, and Louis XII. seized the first occasion to respond to her wishes.

Rupture of the Treaties of Blois.—He found it in 1505, when Ferdinand the Catholic married Germaine de Foix,

niece of Louis XII. Louis by treaty made a second cession of his rights over the kingdom of Naples to his niece, thus breaking one of the principal conditions of his treaty with Maximilian. He convoked the States-General at Tours in order openly to break the others (1506). The Assembly declared that the fundamental law of the state did not permit alienations of the domains of the crown, and besought the king to give his daughter in marriage to his heir presumptive, Francis, Duke of Angoulême, in order to insure the integrity of the territory and the independence of France. Louis XII. found little difficulty in acceding to their request. Maximilian and Ferdinand were at the time unable to protest. Louis was even able the next year, without opposition, to reduce to obedience the revolted city of Genoa. Genoa was taken, its charter of liberties was burned by the hangman; and the city, with the islands of Corsica and Chios, was united to the royal domain (1507).

League of Cambrai (1508).—The republic of Venice had alone gained amid the misfortunes of the peninsula, but now all the powers turned against her. Not only did they envy Venice her wealth, her one thousand vessels, her thirty thousand sailors; but each one of her neighbors had some complaint to make against her. Louis, Ferdinand, Pope Julius II., Maximilian, all claimed portions of her Italian possessions. All these formed at Cambrai (1508) a coalition against the republic. The soul of the league was Pope Julius II., a fiery old man, who proposed to himself two aims,—to reconstitute the temporal power of the Papacy and to drive the “barbarians” out of Italy. In 1509 he proclaimed an interdict against Venice, her magistrates, her citizens, and her defenders.

Victory of Agnadello (1509).—Louis XII. was the first to be ready. He crossed the Adda at the head of more than twenty thousand foot-soldiers and two thousand three hundred lances, and attacked the Venetian forces at Agnadello in May. After a severe struggle the French were victorious. Their victory opened the whole land to them up to the lagoons. No place resisted them. The republic saved itself by a wise policy. It withdrew its troops from all its towns on the mainland, and, unapproachable in the midst of the sea, waited until discord should break out among the allies, which soon happened.

The Holy League (1511).—Pope Julius II. had achieved

his first end. The towns of the Romagna were restored to his possession. He now set about the second, — the expulsion of the barbarians, — and, without scruples respecting his last alliance, proposed to begin with the French. In 1501 he granted absolution to the republic of Venice. He had little difficulty in detaching from the league of Cambrai King Ferdinand, who had already derived from it all the advantages which he had expected. He brought over Maximilian and the Swiss. The allies of France were attacked. Louis XII. hesitated to attack the head of Christendom. The clergy of France, assembled at Tours, far from sharing the king's hesitation, granted him a large subsidy, and declared void all papal excommunications of him and his kingdom, contending that the war was not made against the pontiff, but against the sovereign of the Roman states. Attacked as a prince, Julius II. defended himself like a soldier; but a revolt of Bologna and a defeat compelled him to retire to Rome. Louis XII. convoked a general council at Pisa, to examine the conduct of the Pope and have him deposed. This was a serious misstep, for behind the defeated temporal prince was found the all-powerful spiritual prince. Julius II. laid the town of Pisa under an interdict, excommunicated the dissident cardinals, assembled another council at the Lateran, and invoked the aid of the Catholic powers of Europe. All responded. Ferdinand of Spain, King Henry VIII. of England, Maximilian, the republic of Venice, and the Swiss formed a Holy League (October, 1511), with the avowed object of preserving the Church from a schism, but in reality to drive the French back beyond the Alps (1511–1512).

Gaston de Foix. — The Spanish general, Ramon de Cardona, joined the papal troops with twelve thousand men. The Venetians gradually regained their lost towns. Ten thousand Swiss descended from their mountains. Treason was used upon the German troops and garrisons still in the service of Louis XII. in Italy, while the frontiers of France itself were threatened on the north, the east, and the south. A young and heroic general, a nephew of the king, for a moment dissipated all these dangers. Gaston de Foix, at the age of twenty-two, took command of the army of Italy. He hurled back the Swiss into their mountains, relieved Bologna, hard pressed by the Spanish and papal troops, took Brescia from the Venetians, and in April, 1512, ap-

peared before Ravenna, and boldly encamped between the town and the camp of Cardona. After some vain attempts upon the town, Gaston turned against the camp of the enemy and routed the papal troops; but in driving back the Spanish infantry he was mortally wounded.

Loss of Italy. — With the young and valiant general fell all the vigor of the French army. La Palice succeeded him. Julius II. regained courage, and pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Louis XII. The French army retreated before Cardona, allowed Bologna to be recaptured, and found in its rear twenty thousand Swiss, who had just reinstated Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico il Moro, in the duchy of Milan. La Palice retired into Piedmont. At this point Julius II. died (February, 1513). He had succeeded in driving the French from Italy, but he was securing it to the Spaniards: this was but changing masters, and passing from bad to worse. His successor Leo X., of the house of Medici, continued his policy. He cemented anew the Holy League, and a direct invasion of French territory was resolved upon.

Novara; Battle of the Spurs; Invasion of France (1513). — Ferdinand, already master of Spanish Navarre, on the south of the Pyrenees, was only waiting for a favorable opportunity to seize upon French Navarre, on the north slope of these mountains, and an English army stood ready to land at Calais. Though threatened in his own kingdom, Louis XII. did not abandon Italy. La Trémouille and Trivulzio descended into it with a fine army, and shut up the Swiss and Maximilian Sforza in Novara. But the Swiss, attacking the French artillery with the utmost valor, routed the besieging army. Genoa took advantage of this disaster to regain its freedom. Louis had no longer a single possession beyond the Alps.

For a long series of years the French provinces had seen no hostile armies: two now entered it, — on the east, the Swiss; on the north, the English, accompanied by the Emperor Maximilian. Near Guinegate a panic seized upon the French armies; their rapid flight gave the affair the name of the Battle of the Spurs. The Swiss penetrated as far as Dijon, and were stopped only by much payment of money and still larger promises. The sole ally of France, James IV. of Scotland, shared her ill fortunes; he was defeated and killed at Flodden by the English.

Sea-Fights. — From the beginning of the Italian wars important services had been rendered to France by the sailors of Provence and the galleys of Marseilles, and especially by the brave and skilful Prégent de Bidoulx. In 1513 Prégent, summoned from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic to oppose the English, attacked and defeated their fleet, under Sir Edward Howard, and then appeared upon the English coast and ravaged Sussex. Some months afterward the fleet which had landed at Calais the army of Henry VIII., cruising along the coasts of Brittany, met the French, who had only some twenty Breton and Norman ships under the command of Hervé Primoguet. The English had two or three times as many ships, but their adversaries attacked them resolutely. At the first shock several English ships were sunk. Primoguet's ship took fire, but he refused to leave it. He made straight for the ship of the English admiral, fastened his own ship to it, thus setting it on fire, and went down with it.

Treaties of Peace. — But the triple invasion to which France was subjected forced Louis XII. to make peace. The treaty of Dijon had rid France of the Swiss. Louis disavowed the council of Pisa in order to win over the Pope, and concluded a truce with the Emperor and the king of Aragon (1514). Henry VIII. for some time refused to cease from hostilities; the treaty of London, which gave him Tournai and one hundred thousand crowns per annum for ten years, restored peace on this side also. It was sealed by the marriage of Louis XII. with Mary, sister of the king of England. Thus, after fifteen years of war, France was no further advanced beyond the Alps than at the end of the reign of Charles VIII.

New Political Tendencies. — Since the crusades the French had done little outside of France; and now we have here a reign whose history goes on mainly beyond the mountains, in Italy. Louis XI. had brought the internal wars to a conclusion. Royalty, finding nothing more to conquer within, sought conquests without. The same revolution had also occurred in England, in Spain, and in Austria. Their princes now had an almost absolute authority, and were free to undertake enterprises beyond their own frontiers, or unite to restrain France. The mediæval isolation of states comes to an end. Henceforth there are general leagues and general wars which more and more

intermingle the European nations and their histories. Henceforth the kings have two interests to manage, — to defend and aggrandize their kingdoms; to give their countries good administration. Louis XII. succeeded ill in the first of these tasks, but in respect to the second there is almost nothing but praise to be said of him.

Beneficent Administration; the Cardinal of Amboise. — The accession of Louis XII. to the throne had added to the royal domain the duchy of Orleans and the counties of Valois and Blois, his appanages. He made strenuous efforts to meet all his personal and household expenses with the product of his domains; this permitted him to reduce the taxes by nearly one-third: namely, to 2,600,000 livres, or about 68,000,000 francs. The revenue of the State was scrupulously employed in the payment of soldiers, in the encouragement of industry and agriculture, in the construction of useful public works, or in embellishment of the royal châteaux, promoting taste and art. Pensions and extravagant festivities were abolished. The strictest economy regulated the royal expenses. "I would rather," said he, "see the courtiers laughing at my avarice than the people weeping at my extravagance." He delivered the peasants from the depredations of soldiers. Thus agriculture flourished and commerce expanded to a degree hitherto unknown in France. "The third part of the kingdom," says a contemporary, "was cleared in twelve years, and for one great merchant at Paris, Lyons, or Rouen in former times, there were fifty under Louis XII., and they made less of going to Rome, Naples, or London, than in former times to Lyons or Geneva." He assembled the States-General only once, in 1506. It was these states which, by the mouth of the representatives of Paris, justly bestowed upon him the best name that a king can earn, that of Father of his People.

History has always united with his name that of his worthy counsellor, George of Amboise, who for twenty-seven years was not so much his minister as his friend. Born in 1460 of an illustrious family, Amboise was at the age of fourteen made bishop of Montauban. Early attached to the young Duke of Orleans, he became successively archbishop of Narbonne and, in 1493, of Rouen. The duke himself was at that time governor of Normandy; he gave the principal authority over the province to the archbishop,

who there began those useful reforms which after the death of Charles VIII. he extended throughout the whole kingdom. He loved the people as the king loved him, and was equally beloved by them. Created cardinal, governor of the Milanese, and legate of the Holy See in France, he exercised the greatest influence upon the affairs of France and Italy, and if, like his master, he committed mistakes in foreign policy, his administration had a character of uprightness and leniency which were not seen again till long after his time, though indeed he accumulated immense wealth.

New Parliaments; Revision of the Customs. — The parliaments, exercising royal justice in their provinces, were the most powerful instruments which royalty could use for its aggrandizement. On this account Louis XI. had multiplied them. Louis XII., for the promotion of justice, increased their number still further. He established two new parliaments, — one in Provence (1501), and the other in Normandy (1499).

Charles VIII. had designed to cause the editing and publication of the customary law of each province, in order to release suitors from the danger of arbitrary decisions on the part of the judges. He published seven of them. Under King Louis, between 1505 and 1514, twenty other *customs* were reduced to writing by experts, after mature deliberation, and printed. This publication was the most important legislative work of the old monarchy, down to the time of Louis XIV., for it was not so much an editing as a reformation of the customary law, effected in accordance with the anti-feudal spirit which prevailed among the legists and in the Parliament.

Judicial Administration; Offices. — An ordinance of 1510 substituted French for Latin in criminal procedure, in order that witnesses might hear their own depositions read, and the accused might hear the charges which were preferred against them. French was already employed for the acts of the civil authorities. Louis attempted to diminish the extortions practised by the courts. The baillis, who were all noblemen and soldiers, were obliged to be graduated at universities, or to leave the administration of justice to lieutenants chosen from among the lawyers. Similar regulations were made for the manorial courts of lords.

Louis XII. sold certain public offices in order to procure money; but they were mostly financial offices, and it was

at any rate a very ancient practice. An ordinance of 1506 authorized private individuals to use the relays of post-horses established by Louis XI.

Beginning of the French Renaissance. — The Italian wars had been in many ways a grave mistake. But through them French civilization gained by entering more actively into the Renaissance. Since the thirteenth century so much misery had fallen upon France that culture had declined. Art had no longer the beautiful but severe grandeur of the Gothic architecture of St. Louis' time. The language had shown itself *naïve* and already elegant; but sustained force was still lacking to the French writers, Comines excepted, because the great models of antiquity remained almost wholly unknown to them. But Italy had just rediscovered this rich antiquity. Aretino and Poggio in letters, Leonardo da Vinci and Brunelleschi in art, had brought in a renaissance which was all antique and pagan. There was, it is true, more of translation and imitation than of imagination; poetic inspiration was cast in the mould of Horace and Virgil, and the most eloquent aspired only to speak like Cicero. The French arrived when this movement was putting forth its greatest energies, and brought back with them over the mountains a taste for these new achievements. Antiquity had also in France its ardent devotees, — Gaguin, Vatable, Budé, and Danès.

The memory of the handsome cities, of the rich palaces, and of all the elegance of Milan, Rome, and Florence inspired the idea of improving the French cities and the construction of manor-houses, especially now that the king's artillery had made thick walls useless. A less massive architecture was sought for, which should give entrance to air and light. Italian architects crossed the mountains and helped on this movement of renovation. Notable among them was Fra Giocondo, royal architect to Louis XII. The cardinal of Amboise shared all the tastes of his master. He caused Roger Ango to begin the Palais de Justice at Rouen, which presents a graceful mixture of the new and the old art, of the Gothic transformed by the Renaissance; he also erected the beautiful château of Gaillon.

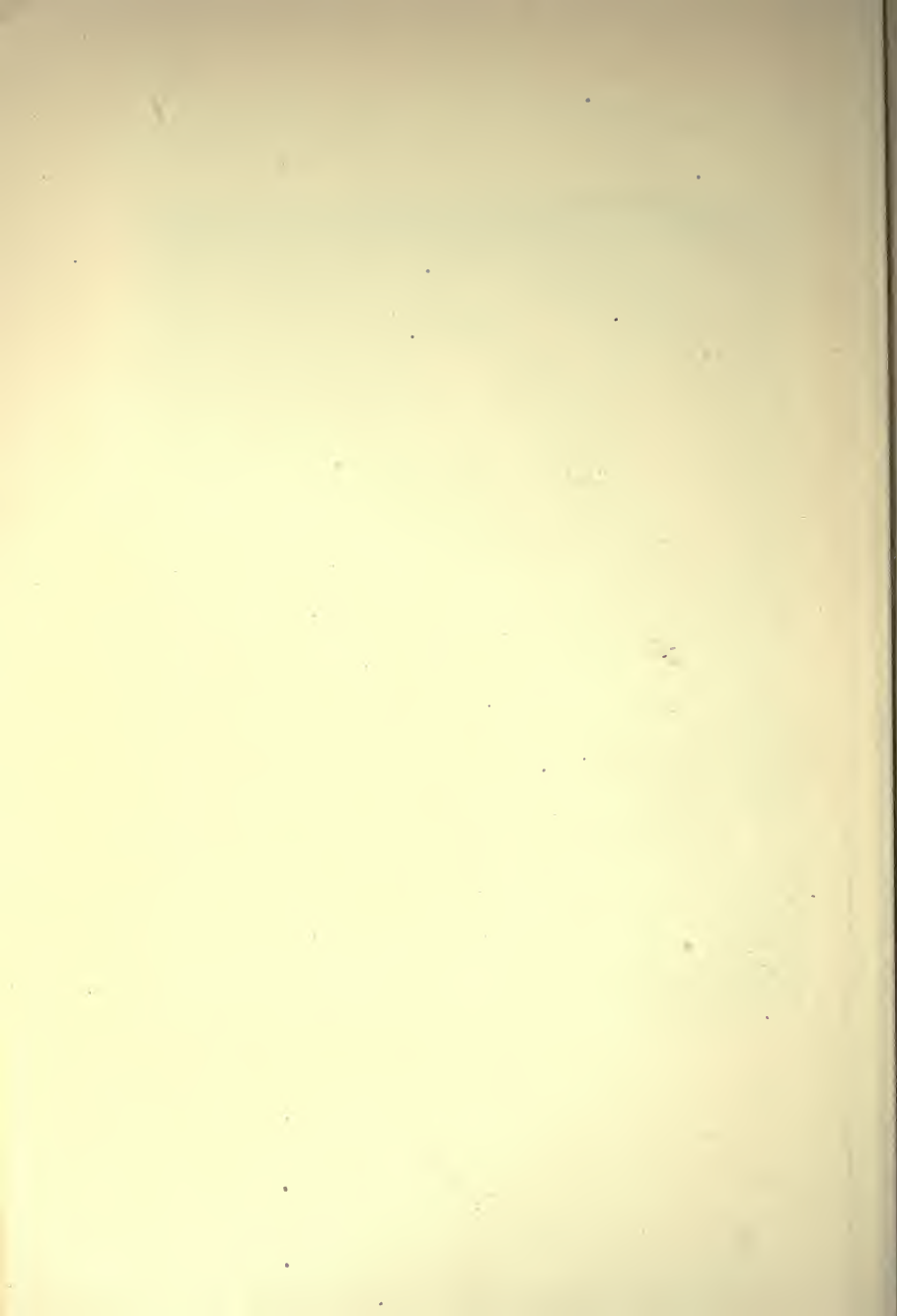
Death of Louis XII. — The peace would doubtless have rendered the reign of Louis XII. more fruitful in beneficent reforms and in artistic achievements if he had lived longer. Anne of Brittany had died in January, 1514. Louis,

who had greatly loved her, contracted in August a political marriage: he married Mary, sister of Henry VIII., a princess of sixteen, who compelled him to change his simple and regular life. Festivities and tournaments were for several months continual. Louis had been in delicate health ever since 1504; this new mode of life killed him. He died on the first of January, 1515, at the age of fifty-three, sincerely mourned by his people.



FRANCIS I.

From a painting by Titian in the Louvre.



TENTH PERIOD.

FIRST STRUGGLE OF FRANCE AGAINST THE HOUSE
OF AUSTRIA.—INCREASE OF THE ROYAL POWER.
—THE RENAISSANCE. (1515–1559.)

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FRANCIS I.

(1515–1547 A.D.)

France at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century. — With the sixteenth century a new era in the history of France begins. After the long struggles for national unity the royal domain now at most points touched the natural frontiers of France. Excepting Calais, there was no foreign territory which interrupted that of the king along all the coasts of the Channel and the Atlantic. In the south the sole exception was Roussillon. But on the north and the northeast its frontier was ill arranged. The restitution of Franche-Comté had lost France the frontier of the Jura, that of Artois had exposed Paris. On that side much still remained to be done toward removing the enemy's frontier from the neighborhood of the capital, since the ill-conceived policy of Charles VIII. had uselessly diverted to Italy the strength of France, which ought to have been employed on the north and the east. Yet great results had been achieved. There was now one single France extending from the Channel to the Mediterranean, and from the Pyrenees to the Meuse, a vast country placed between Spain, England, Germany, and Italy, to hold the balance between them, to receive their various influences and to impart her own, to the great profit of general civilization.

In internal affairs the French kings had already greatly advanced their work of levelling and unification; the communes had renounced their privileges, and the lords had lost their independence, but the serfs had been enfranchised in great numbers, so that all found themselves brought nearer together and formed one great people, in the midst of which there still remained many diversities, but which had nevertheless, ever since the time of Jeanne d'Arc, shown its unity. To complete the evolution of French society out of the civil institutions of the Middle Ages was the work which, in internal affairs, was to be accomplished by modern French royalty. Abroad, France, after having checked the house of Austria in the exaggerated extension of its power, was to regain gradually the limits of ancient Gaul and to impose upon Europe its supremacy. The sign of this growing nationality was the French language, which was becoming purified and was spreading throughout Europe. French literature was to reign far and wide over the minds of men, and even in days of reverse and abasement France was to be consoled by the influence of her genius, her arts, her letters, and her sciences.

Francis I. (1515-1547); Battle of Marignano (1515). — The successor of Louis XII., Francis I., was descended from a third son of that Duke of Orleans who had been assassinated in 1407. After the Father of his People came "the King of Gentlemen." Handsome and strong, brave and intelligent, prodigal of his person in battles and of the money of his subjects in court festivities, imperious in command, yet easily led, a friend of arts and letters, himself a scholar, Francis I. pushed his defects as well as his good qualities to an extreme. But with the pride of power, Francis had also a strong feeling for the greatness of France. He conquered nothing, but he kept France intact in perilous times and in the face of the greatest adversary that she ever had. He increased taxation and spent lavishly, but he reformed justice and gave a vigorous impulse to letters and arts. Finally, he covered his vices and his faults with a certain brilliancy of knightly generosity and kingly greatness.

Francis had promised himself to give the administration a more energetic tone as soon as he was master. Duprat, an able but unscrupulous man, whom he made chancellor, was charged with the duty of applying the new maxims of

government. Declining to renew the existing truce, Francis prepared to cross the Alps, after having given the constable's sword to the Duke of Bourbon, an impetuous man, capable of great things, but little adapted to the rôle of a subject; and the regency to his mother, Louise of Savoy, a vain, greedy, and passionate woman, who, however, had great love for her son.

A formidable army was gathered around Lyons and in Dauphiny: it included eighteen thousand foot-soldiers, mostly Gascons, twenty thousand German lanzknechts, seventy large cannon, and three hundred smaller pieces. Among the commanders were the constable of Bourbon, marshals La Palice, Lautrec, d'Aubigny, and Trivulzio, six dukes, a great engineer, Pedro Navarro, and, more illustrious than all, "the knight without fear and without reproach," the brave Bayard. Venice and Genoa summoned Francis into Italy. The young sovereign of the Netherlands, Charles of Austria, had made a treaty with him in spite of his two grandfathers, the emperor Maximilian and the king of Aragon. But these two princes, Pope Leo X., and the Duke of Milan had cemented anew their alliance, and twenty thousand Swiss in their pay guarded the passages of Mont Cenis and Mont Genève, the only two routes by which it was thought possible for a French army to enter Piedmont.

Francis I. began with a masterly stroke. Discovering that the Col de l'Argentière was practicable, he led his army over the Alps by that pass, and on the fifth day descended into the plains of Saluzzo. A body of cavalry crossed at a higher point, by the Col d'Agnello, and surprised at table in the Villa Franca the general of the papal troops, Prosper Colonna, who was captured with seven hundred of his horsemen. The enemy found themselves outflanked. The Swiss, astonished, retreated on Milan, to effect a junction with the Spanish army which was watching the Venetians. The French followed them to Marignano. The Swiss entered into negotiations with the king, who offered them seven hundred thousand crowns; but, large reinforcements arriving, they decided to fight.

On the 13th of September the Swiss, marching out from Milan, advanced with lowered pikes upon the French artillery, thinking to capture it; but the flower of the French gendarmerie was there, all mailed in iron, men and horses. Thirty successive charges failed to arrest the advance of the

Swiss. With their pikes eighteen feet long, they resembled the Macedonian phalanx, so long invincible. The French artillery, well directed, mowed down entire files of them. The steady column continued to advance; three times it seized the first batteries, around which raged "a battle of giants." The constable, the princes, and the lords did not spare themselves. The king himself charged at the head of his household troops, and received several blows upon his armor. The sun setting, the fight continued by moonlight until the night was dark. The French and Swiss forces were intermingled, and remained so, waiting for daylight. The battle was renewed at daybreak; but between nine and ten o'clock in the morning the Swiss heard behind them the cry of "Marco! Marco!" uttered by the advance guard of the Venetians, who were hastening to take part in the battle. Then they retired in good order and recrossed their mountains without stopping.

This was a brilliant beginning of the new reign. The French army was intoxicated with joy; the young king received knighthood on the field of battle from the hands of Bayard.

Perpetual Peace with the Swiss; Concordat with Leo X. (1516).—Francis used his victory with moderation. He did not think of conquering Naples, but simply of securing strong positions in the north of the peninsula. The Doge of Genoa gave up his city to him; Maximilian Sforza was induced to abandon his duchy; Verona was secured to the Venetians; Parma and Piacenza to the Milanese. The king of England allowed Tournai to be redeemed. Finally a well-conceived treaty excluded the Swiss from Italy, and the confederation, as in Louis XI.'s time, engaged to permit the king to levy in their territory the troops which he needed. Francis I. paid the Swiss the seven hundred thousand crowns which he had offered them before the victory. This peace, concluded with the thirteen cantons at Geneva and Freiburg (1515 and 1516), was rightly called the Perpetual Peace, for it lasted as long as the old French monarchy itself.

Francis guaranteed the Medici the possession of Florence, but replaced the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII. by a concordat, which put the French clergy under his control. Leo X. preserved appeals to the court of Rome in the more important cases, but renounced reservations and provisions. He conceded to the king the right of disposing absolutely of

ecclesiastical dignities, preserving only the right of refusing spiritual investiture to the nominees in case of canonical unfitness. Francis renounced the doctrine of the Fathers of Basel respecting the superiority of councils to the Pope, and re-established the annates or year's revenue which every clerk promoted to an important benefice was obliged to pay to the sovereign pontiff. Thus each gave up that which, according to the public law of the kingdom, did not belong to him. The clergy, the universities, and the judicial courts protested against the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, which affected various prerogatives of corporations and persons, and the Parliament of Paris refused to register the concordat. But after two years of resistance they were forced to yield. The concordat embodied a considerable increase of the royal authority, for it made the clergy dependent upon the king, as the nobility had been since Louis XI., as the bourgeoisie had always been.

Court of Francis I. — Francis, struck by the marvels of the Italian renaissance, induced several of the great Italian artists to follow him beyond the mountains, and bought from the others some of their most noted works. What was better than the money he gave the artists, was the regard which the young conqueror showed for the leaders of intellectual life. He loved all intellectual things, and the savant, the poet, and the artist found their place in the brilliant court with which he surrounded himself.

This French court, which exercised so long-continued and often so pernicious an influence upon public manners, upon letters, upon the spirit of the nation, and even upon foreign nations, dates from the time of Francis I. Before him it had not existed. Louis XII. was surrounded only by grave counsellors, and the chaste Anne of Brittany allowed in her circle only quiet and infrequent pleasures. Francis I. desired always to be followed by a troop numbering thousands. He also attracted to his court, by the splendor of his festivities, the noble ladies, hitherto forgotten in the depths of their feudal manor-houses. At first this had excellent effects; but morals soon became corrupted, and the influence of women upon the government proved pernicious. Three women, especially, exercised a disastrous influence over this court during the reign of Francis I., — his mother, Louise of Savoy, the Countess of Châteaubriant, and the Duchess of Étampes.

Treaty of Noyon (1516). — Until 1519 France and Europe remained at peace. In 1516 Ferdinand the Catholic died. This death gave Aragon, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia to Charles of Austria, already sovereign of the Netherlands and king of Castile. Francis did not attempt to prevent his obtaining this magnificent heritage. He concluded with him the treaty of Noyon (1516), which arranged an offensive and defensive alliance between the two princes. But the occurrence of another death, that of Maximilian (1519), changed everything.

Rivalry of Francis and Charles; Charles V. elected Emperor. — Francis I. hoped to obtain the imperial crown. Germany needed a prince capable of defending it against the Turks. But the German princes thought of the condition into which the kings of France had reduced the great lords of their country, and feared a similar fate. It seemed unlikely that anything of the sort was to be feared from the new king of Spain, a young man without glory, whose states were numerous but scattered, and who, being master of Austria, would necessarily receive the first blows of the Turks if they fell upon Germany. Henry VIII. of England also entered the lists, but his candidacy was not of serious importance. All the contestants lavished money upon the electors; but though Francis had given the most, Charles of Austria was elected and became Charles V. Two centuries of war arose from this election.

Francis clearly perceived the dangers to France and to Europe arising from the union of so many crowns upon one head. From that day the policy of France changed. The liberty of the continent was menaced. Master of Spain and Naples, of the Netherlands and of Austria, Charles V., so to speak, held Europe by the four corners. He was now also emperor of Germany, with vague rights of suzerainty over Italy; he was soon to bring the Pope and Henry VIII. into his alliance; and Cortés and Pizarro were conquering Mexico and Peru for him. France was menaced on three sides, — on the side of the Pyrenees, of Franche-Comté, and of Flanders. It is the glory of Francis I. that he accepted what seemed an unequal contest with the house of Austria. He believed that a compact kingdom, a population military, rich, and devoted, had as much strength as this imposing list of states discordant and dispersed, this empire "upon which the sun never set."

Negotiations with England (1520).—The two rivals contended for alliance with Henry VIII. Francis I. offered him splendid festivities in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, near Guines, in June, 1520, but, by his magnificent display, only offended Henry instead of winning him. Charles V., more shrewd, went to meet Henry VIII. at Gravelines in ordinary attire like a dependent, pensioned his favorite minister, Cardinal Wolsey, to whom he promised the papal tiara, and thus secured the English alliance.

The French in Navarre; the Imperialists in Champagne (1521).—Beaten in diplomacy, Francis hoped for better success in war. He sent into Navarre, which Charles V. had not restored to Henry d'Albret, an army which was alleged to be in the pay of that prince. At the same time, the Duke of Bouillon, secretly instigated and paid by France, declared war upon the emperor and attacked Luxemburg. But the French were easily driven out of Navarre. In the north the general of Charles V. seized the duchy of Bouillon and invaded Champagne. But Bayard, by a brave defence of Mézières, saved France from an invasion which there was no army ready to resist.

Defeat of Bicocca (1522); Loss of the Milanese.—There was now open war between France and the emperor. The first serious blow was struck in Italy. Lautrec, with forces inferior to the Spanish troops of Pescara, abandoned Parma, Piacenza, and even Milan (1521). Attacking the emperor's forces at Bicocca with his Swiss troops he was defeated, and the Swiss returned to their mountains (1522).

Treason of Bourbon; Triple Invasion of France (1523).—Francis I. believed that all could be restored by his personal presence. He sent twenty-five thousand men towards the Alps; but at the moment when he was about to go and take command of them, a plot was discovered, the success of which would have ruined France. Charles V., assured of the new Pope, Adrian VI., his former tutor, and of the king of England, had gained a powerful ally in the very midst of the court of France. Master of La Marche, of Bourbonnais, of Auvergne, of Forez, and of Beaujolais, the constable of Bourbon maintained the state of a prince. An able soldier, proud and ambitious, he listened to the overtures of Charles V., who promised him, in addition to his present possessions, Dauphiny, Provence, and Lyonnais, to be erected into a kingdom, as the price of his defection. Henry VIII. was

to obtain the western provinces ; the emperor was to recover Burgundy and the towns of the Somme ; there was thus a complete plan for the dismemberment of France. The last representative of the mediæval feudalism, Bourbon believed that he could do as the old dukes of Brittany and Burgundy had done ; he forgot that there was now a French nation, determined to remain united, and that a treason towards the king was treason to it.

The projected triple invasion occurred. Francis sent Lautrec into Guienne to confront the twenty-five thousand Spaniards who were vainly attacking Bayonne, Count Claude of Guise against twelve thousand German lanzknechts, who had come in through Franche-Comté and Champagne, but were now driven back behind the Meuse ; finally, old La Trémouille was sent against the thirty-five thousand English and Flemings who had advanced to within eleven leagues of Paris, but whom he, by skilful manœuvres, with a handful of men, first stopped, then drove back.

Death of Bayard ; Invasion of Provence (1524). — But in Italy Admiral Bonnivet, brave but incapable, was forced to retreat. Bayard, conducting the rear-guard, was mortally wounded. As the French were fleeing toward the Alps, Bourbon, overtaking them, found the good knight lying at the foot of a tree, with his face to the enemy, and expressed his grief at seeing him in that state. "It is not I who am to be pitied," said he, "for I die like an honest man ; but I pity you, who are serving against your prince, your country, and your oath."

Bourbon now crossed the frontier of France. Provence lay open to him, except Marseilles, which was well fortified, and received him with stout resistance. Bourbon persisted forty days in this siege. But on the approach of Francis I., with eight thousand horsemen, thirty-four thousand foot-soldiers, and a strong body of artillery, the imperial army, demoralized, retreated to the Alps.

Battle of Pavia (1525). — The king of France, advancing into Italy, the theatre of his former exploits, seized Milan without striking a blow, and imprudently detached a body of ten thousand men to conquer the kingdom of Naples, while he himself was pressing the siege of Pavia. But Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, gathering troops from all quarters, advanced upon him there, and enclosed him between them and the town, garrisoned by six thousand men. The posi-

tion was dangerous; the old generals advised him to raise the siege, but Francis determined on battle (Feb. 25, 1525).

But he began the attack with the men-at-arms too soon. The Spanish infantry took advantage of his mistake. His Swiss retreated. La Trémouille, La Palice, and his best generals fell around the king. The king himself, wounded, surrounded by corpses, continued fighting for a long time, but finally was forced to surrender. His letter to his mother, announcing the result, has been condensed into the phrase, "All is lost save honor."

Regency of Louise of Savoy; Captivity of the King; Treaty of Madrid (1526).— But France was not lost. Her frontiers were not even attacked. The regent showed a laudable and intelligent activity. She ransomed the captives, gathered a new army, repressed internal disorders, negotiated secretly with Venice, with the Pope, even with the Turkish sultan, Solyman, instigating him to attack Austria, and purchased the alliance of Henry VIII.

Meanwhile Francis I., at Madrid, was not finding Charles V. as magnanimous as he had expected. The emperor kept him in captivity, and for a long time refused to see him. Sick with chagrin, Francis consented to sign a disastrous treaty (January, 1526), though secretly protesting its nullity as made under duress. He ceded Burgundy to Charles, renounced all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, Flanders, and Artois, restored Bourbon to his possessions, and promised to marry the emperor's sister, the queen dowager of Portugal. Exchanged for his two sons at the frontier, he spurred his horse on to French soil, exultingly exclaiming, "I am again a king." An assembly of notables decided that the king was incompetent to give up the first peerage of the kingdom. The states of Burgundy appealed to the coronation oath, and declared that they would remain French in spite of king and emperor. Charles loudly accused Francis of disloyalty.

The Holy League (1526); Sack of Rome (1527).— After much negotiation, Francis signed, with Pope Clement VII., the king of England, Venice, Florence, and the Swiss, a Holy League for the deliverance of Italy. That unfortunate country, for thirty-two years the theatre of war, was at this moment a prey to bands of mercenaries. The constable of Bourbon descended from the Alps at the head of

a new army of ten or fifteen thousand fanatical and pillaging Lutherans. The constable could not control his men. After having devoured the Milanese, the lanzknechts wished for another prey, Florence or Rome, — especially Rome, the sacrilegious Babylon. Bourbon led them thither, meditating great designs, perhaps the kingship of Italy. But at the assault of the walls he was the first to fall. His soldiers avenged him cruelly. For nine months Rome underwent tortures and outrages such as the Goths and Vandals had not inflicted upon her.

Second War with Charles V. (1527–1529); Treaty of Cambrai (1529). — Francis now sent Lautrec to conquer the kingdom of Naples, the possession of which was so useless to France. Lautrec at first had brilliant success, but a pestilence carried off the general and discouraged the soldiers, and the expedition was ruined. This was the fourth French army which Italy had swallowed up since the battle of Bicocca. The peninsula remained in the hands of Charles V. It was to remain for more than three centuries in the power or under the influence of the house of Austria.

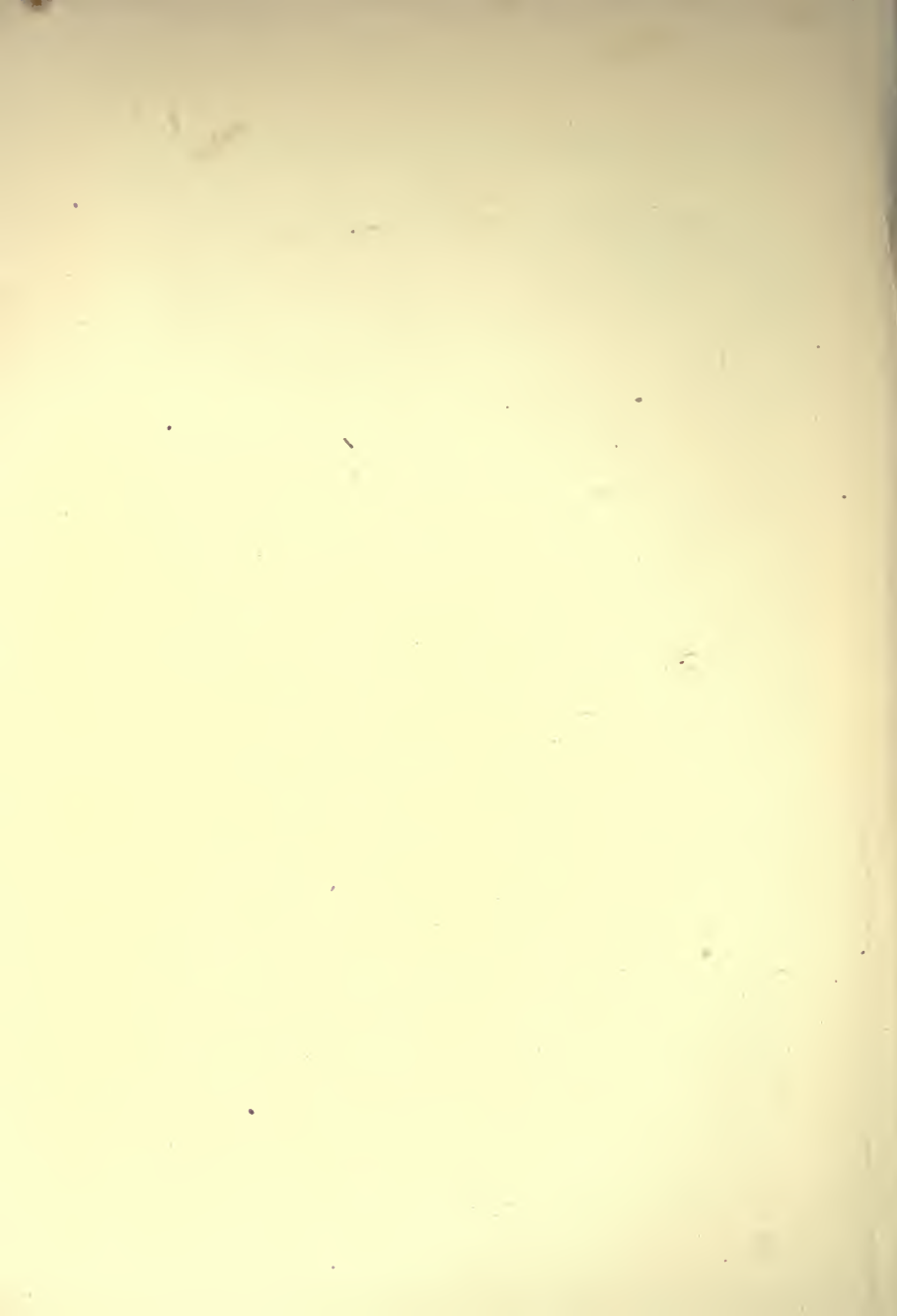
Charles seemed likely now to attack France. But a religious war was on the point of breaking out in Germany; Solyman, the secret ally of Francis I., sent his redoubtable janizaries forward even to the walls of Vienna; and the king of England threatened to abandon the Austrian alliance by repudiating his wife, Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of Charles. The emperor, therefore, desired to secure peace in the west. Louise of Savoy and Margaret of Austria, the aunt of Charles V., met at Cambrai, and concluded the Ladies' Peace. Charles, who kept Naples and was soon to be crowned king of Lombardy, renounced his claims upon Burgundy, but maintained all the other conditions of the treaty of Madrid.

Six Years' Peace (1529–1535). — This suspension of hostilities lasted till the end of the year 1535. Charles and Francis employed it to advantage, but in different ways. The emperor took the offensive against the Turks. With a large fleet he attacked Tunis, a nest of pirates. The fort of La Goletta was captured, twenty thousand Christians delivered, and Tunis brought under the suzerainty of Charles V. (1535).

Francis meanwhile devoted himself to the works of peace. At the same time, he organized a national infantry of



FRANCIS I. AT THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.
From prints in the National Library.



forty-two thousand men, restored his alliance with Henry VIII., won over the Pope by asking for his son the hand of the Pope's niece, Catherine de' Medici, renewed the ancient friendship with the Scotch by causing their king to marry first his eldest daughter, then Mary of Guise, signed the first French treaties with Denmark and Sweden, and openly sent an embassy to Sultan Solymán, which virtually concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with him. The German Protestants, confederated against the emperor at Schmalkald, also received overtures from Francis I. (1532). These two alliances put him in a delicate position, but he did not hesitate to subordinate religious to political interests.

The Reformation.—This schism in the Church was produced by that irresistible movement, which in the sixteenth century was carrying men's minds beyond the traditional horizon. The rediscovery of antiquity had opened to thought paths hitherto unknown. While Columbus and Vasco da Gama were discovering new worlds, Copernicus was discovering the true laws of the universe. The age, stirred with wonder at these new ideas, began to doubt many ancient beliefs. The spirit of curiosity and examination extended everywhere, transformed arts, letters, sciences, and society, and desired also to transform religious institutions. The councils of Basel and Constance, in the fifteenth century, had in vain proposed to reform ecclesiastical discipline and morals. The Church would not reform herself, and before eighty years had passed a revolution deprived her of half Europe. In 1517 Luther had commenced his struggle against Rome; in 1520 the rupture was complete; and in a few years large parts of Germany went over to the new cause.

The Reformation in France.—The new doctrines early obtained entrance into France. Their first conquests were among the scholars; all the great French jurisconsults of this century either secretly or openly accepted the doctrines of the Reformation. Even a part of the court inclined to them. Lefebvre d'Étaples and Louis Berquin, scholars known and esteemed by Francis, supported them: the former had begun six years before Luther. The favorite poet of the court, Clément Marot, became a Protestant. Francis at first showed no disfavor to the Reformers; but the peasant revolts in Germany gave him the feeling that

the revolt against the Pope would easily lead to a revolt against the king; and though he remained the interested friend of the German Protestants, he would not permit the spread of their doctrines in his own states.

During the king's captivity two Lutherans had been burned in Paris. Later Berquin, refusing to recant, was burned; at Vienne, at Séez, at Toulouse, other executions took place. The necessity of placating the Protestants of Germany relaxed the persecution. But in 1536 six unfortunate victims were executed in different open spaces in Paris, in the presence of the court.

Third War with Charles V. (1536-1538). — The peace was broken by a misdeed of the Emperor. Francis had a secret agent at Milan: at the instance of Charles this agent was seized and put to death in 1533, by Duke Francesco Sforza. The duke dying soon after without heirs, Francis at once laid claim to the Milanese. At the beginning of 1536 he seized Savoy and Piedmont. The emperor was at this moment returning from his glorious expedition against Tunis. At the news of this aggression he swore vengeance, and sent against Marseilles the fleet which had just reduced Tunis. His second invasion of Provence was not more fortunate than the first. The constable, Montmorency, destroyed villages and open towns, farms, mills, and provisions, made the country a desert in front of the imperial army, and intrenched himself in a strong position near Avignon. The enemy penetrated to within sight of Aix and Marseilles; but found himself in a devastated country, in the midst of an irritated population, which intercepted convoys and cut off stragglers. Decimated by hunger and dysentery, the Imperialists retreated. It was for a second time proved that France is invulnerable on this side.

At the same time the Picards bravely defended the north-eastern frontier, and the Norman corsairs took prizes to the value of two hundred thousand crowns of gold from the Spaniards. Charles had failed in France. But Francis succeeded neither in the Netherlands nor in Italy. The Pope interposed, and by his mediation the truce of Nice, to last ten years, was signed in 1538. Francis kept Savoy and Piedmont.

Charles V. in France (1539). — From irreconcilable enemies the two sovereigns seemed to become devoted friends. Some time later the city of Ghent, overburdened with taxa-

tion, revolted against Charles V., and offered itself to his rival. Francis not only refused the offer, but invited the emperor to cross his kingdom in order to be able the sooner to crush the rebels. The emperor accepted. He was magnificently received and fêted. Francis hoped to overcome his politic friend by generosity, and to obtain as a gift the Milanese. Hints and importunities were not spared. But the emperor reached Flanders without his voyage having cost him anything but vague promises. The king, who had counted on the investiture of the Milanese for one of his sons, was deeply vexed at having been thus duped by the emperor. The assassination of two French agents in Turkey caused war to break out.

Fourth War with Charles V. (1543-1544).— This time the efforts of Francis and Solymán were better combined. The Turkish janizaries conquered almost all Hungary, while Francis covered Luxemburg and Piedmont with his armies. A Turkish and French squadron captured Nice, the only town which remained in the possession of the Duke of Savoy.

Charles V. exclaimed loudly at this treason to the Christian cause. He concluded peace with the Protestants of Germany and renewed his alliance with the king of England. A new invasion of France at three points at once was resolved upon. The governor of the Milanese, at the head of a Spanish force, was to make his way through the French army in Piedmont and enter France. In the north the emperor and Henry VIII. were to meet beneath the walls of Paris: the one was to proceed thither through Champagne, the other through Picardy. But the Duke of Enghien severely defeated the Spaniards at Cerisola in Piedmont, and remained master of that country, yet was unable to advance further, because a part of his troops was recalled to defend the North of France from invasion (1544).

Peace of Crespy (1544).— Charles V. had entered Champagne without resistance, taken St. Dizier, and advanced to within twenty-four leagues of Paris. Fortunately for France, the king of England, unfaithful to the plan agreed upon, persisted in the siege of Boulogne, and left his ally isolated, without money or provisions, in the midst of the French provinces. Charles, at the moment when he believed his enemy reduced to the last extremity, was obliged to sign the Peace of Crespy (1544). The two sovereigns mutually

restored their recent conquests : Francis remained master of Savoy and Piedmont, and obtained the Milanese for his younger son. But the young prince died, and the emperor hastened to give his son Philip Lombardy, which the house of Austria kept from that day to that of Solferino. Henry VIII. made peace in 1546.

Massacre of the Vaudois (1545). — Francis, ruined before his time by his excesses, was at fifty-one a morose old man. As long as the war with Charles V. continued he had spared the heretics. But after the conclusion of peace, harsh and evil counsellors obtained the ascendancy. They attributed the king's reverses, and even his physical sufferings, to the relaxation of persecution. The king was persuaded to order new severities. At Meaux fourteen heretics were burned in a single day ; but the most odious execution was that of an entire population of inoffensive persons, the Vaudois of the Alpine valleys, whose beliefs were more than three centuries old.

They had been condemned in 1540 as heretics. Execution had been stayed in favor of these peaceable peasants, who paid their taxes regularly and maintained pure and simple manners. But in April, 1545, precise and rigorous orders came from the court to the Parliament of Aix. Three thousand of the Vaudois were massacred or burned in their dwellings ; six hundred and sixty were sent to the galleys ; the rest were dispersed into the woods and mountains, where most of them died of hunger and misery. Not a house or a tree remained standing for fifteen leagues around.

Death of the King (1547). — Charles V., released from war with France and assured of peace with the Turks, turned his forces against the German Protestants, and, under pretext of crushing heresy, began to crush the liberties of Germany. Francis I. meanwhile died at the château of Rambouillet, at the age of fifty-two (March, 1547). Francis had the faults of brilliancy, for which France has always had too great a weakness. His gallantry was carried to the extent of debauchery, his magnificence to profusion, his courage to rashness. He was violent and capricious, and given over to unworthy favorites : he could even be unjust, perfidious, and cruel, and was always a man of arbitrary will. But he sometimes showed real greatness, loved letters, and had a taste for art.

Foundation of Havre de Grace (1517). — Havre dates from

the time of Francis I. France had at the mouth of the Seine only two small harbors, — Honfleur on the left, Harfleur on the right. The latter was beginning to be choked with sand. Francis I., who desired to have a great maritime establishment upon the Channel, had search made in the neighborhood for a better site. A few miles from there a fishing village was found, placed in the midst of a marsh, with a little chapel of Our Lady of Grace. But it opened directly upon the sea, outside the mouth of the Seine, remote from shifting sand-banks, and with favorable conditions as to tide. In 1517 Chillon, vice-admiral of France, laid the first stone of the new city, whose site was so well chosen that it has become the greatest port of France for oceanic commerce. It was at first named Franciscopolis, but the word was too learned for the poor fishermen, who, faithful to their patroness, continued to call their town Havre de Grace.

CHAPTER XL.

HENRY II. 159

(1547-1549 A.D.)

Henry II. ; Montmorency and the Guises. — Henry II. carried to excess his father's defects and had none of his high qualities, neither intelligence nor grace, caring for nothing but bodily exercises. In spite of her forty-eight years, Diana of Poitiers by her wit and beauty exercised immense influence over him. He created her Duchess of Valentinois and allowed her to govern the court, in which the queen remained without influence. The chief administration of government was confided to the constable Montmorency, to Marshal St. André, the king's favorite, and to the family of the Guises, a younger branch of the house of Lorraine, poor in goods but rich in hopes. There was a great scramble for offices, honors, and pensions. In a few weeks the king squandered four hundred thousand crowns which he found gathered in his father's coffers for the German war. Montmorency and the Guises secured the largest share of gifts and offices, and almost monopolized the favor of the king.

In 1548 a bloody revolt against the salt-tax broke out in Guienne. Montmorency marched thither with ten thousand men and suppressed it with great severity.

Alliance with Scotland and the German Protestants. — Duke Francis of Guise and his brother Charles, archbishop of Rheims, wisely directing the foreign policy of France, turned the king's attention toward Germany, and sent assistance to the queen dowager of Scotland, their sister. Montmorency renewed hostilities with England. Boulogne was actively besieged, and the English surrendered it for a fifth of the sum stipulated in the treaty. In Germany, Charles V., having vanquished the Protestants at Mühlberg, found himself more powerful than any emperor had been for five centuries. He regulated religious questions at will without consulting the Pope, political questions without con-

sulting the Diet; he was as absolute in the Empire as in Italy or in Spain. Henry II. did not give him time to assure his triumph nor to become threatening to France. He made a secret alliance with Maurice of Saxony, one of the emperor's generals, who was now betraying him, and published a manifesto in which he declared himself the defender of German liberties. But he gave the blood of his Protestant subjects as a compensation for this policy, which made him almost everywhere the enemy of the orthodox, the friend of heretics or unbelievers. The Edict of Châteaubriant ordered that the Protestants should not have the privileges of appeal, closed the schools and courts to them, and secured to informers the third part of the property of their victims.

Conquest of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (1552).— Surprised by Maurice of Saxony, Charles V. was nearly captured at Innsbrück in May, 1552. Henry II. marched into Lorraine with thirty-eight thousand men. Toul and Metz opened their gates. An attempt to achieve the same result was made at Strassburg, another great free city, but in vain. On his return he entered Verdun, and thus completed the acquisition of the Trois-Évêchés.

Siege of Metz (1552-1553).— The emperor, irritated at these successes, hastily made peace with the Lutherans at Passau, and entered Lorraine at the head of sixty thousand men. Francis of Guise threw himself into Metz with the most distinguished nobles of the realm, and hastily fortified it. Charles persisted in the siege for two months, and fired forty thousand cannon-shots at the town, but could not take it, for behind every wall that was broken down the assailants found a new one. Winter came on. The imperial army had lost a third of its numbers when Charles decided to raise the siege. He broke camp on the first of January, complaining of Fortune. "I see plainly that she is a woman," he said; "she favors a young king more than an old emperor." But in reality he had only himself to blame for undertaking such an operation in a most unfavorable season.

Further Operations; Abdication of Charles V. (1556).— Next year the emperor besieged Thérouanne in Artois. The garrison, though small, capitulated only after a brave defence; he razed the place to the ground, and Hesdin also. He avenged his humiliated pride by making war with much

atrocities. In 1554 Henry II. gave him ravages for ravages in Hainault and Brabant, but was finally compelled to retire. Meanwhile Brissac, with a small army, had maintained himself in Northern Italy against the Duke of Alva; Strozzi and Montluc defended Sienna against the Florentines and the Imperialists; the Turks threatened Naples; the Baron de la Garde ravaged Elba and set foot in Corsica. The check received at Metz was therefore not reversed; France seemed to grow young again with her new king; Charles V. grew weary of this struggle which he had been sustaining for thirty-five years. He gave up the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain to his son Philip II. and retired to the monastery of Yuste, to seek the repose which ambitious monarchs never find (1556).

Charles had not been able to leave all his crowns to his son: Austria and the title of emperor went to his brother Ferdinand. The house of Austria was divided. But at the moment when Philip II. lost Germany he seemed to gain England by a marriage with the queen of that country, Mary Tudor. The present and future of France were seriously menaced by the dominion thus formed, which closed her in on three sides. Pope Paul IV. was alarmed at seeing the Spaniards both above him and below him, at Milan and at Naples. The king and the pontiff united. One army, under Montmorency, was sent to the Netherlands; another, under the Duke of Guise, into Italy.

St. Quentin (1557).—Philip II. sent against Montmorency Duke Philibert Emmanuel of Savoy, who, despoiled of his estates by France, had everything to expect from Spain; and against Francis of Guise, the Duke of Alva, a true Spaniard, entirely devoted to the Church, still more to his king. Guise penetrated into the Abruzzi, but failed before the skilful tactics of his adversary. Philibert Emmanuel marched suddenly upon St. Quentin, where seven thousand English troops joined him. The place was without walls, ammunition, or provisions. Admiral Coligny threw himself into it with seven hundred men. Montmorency approached with an inferior army which he managed unskilfully in the attempt to reprovision the town. Philibert Emmanuel attacked him in the front and in the rear, and inflicted upon him an overwhelming defeat. Many great nobles were captured, together with four thousand men, the artillery, and the baggage. More than ten thousand men were killed or wounded.

"Is my son at Paris?" cried Charles V., on learning in his retreat at Yuste of this great disaster to France. But Philip II., a cold and methodical man, obstinate but without dash, had not believed it prudent to push his victory. Before taking another step forward, he wished to secure St. Quentin; and Coligny, knowing that the safety of France was at stake, made heroic efforts to prolong its defence. Time was thus obtained for assembling the French forces, and Philip II. returned to the Netherlands with small results from a victory which had seemed likely to prove as disastrous to France as Poitiers or Agincourt.

Capture of Calais (1558).—The Duke of Guise was recalled from Italy in all haste and given the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with unlimited powers. Guise answered the general expectations by suddenly appearing before Calais, in which the English had left but a meagre garrison: in seven days it was compelled to capitulate. The last reminder of the Hundred Years' War was thus removed; the English no longer had a foot of ground in France. The blow was fatal to Queen Mary. "If ye open my heart," said she on her death-bed, "ye will find written on it the name of Calais." The same blow destroyed the alliance of England and Spain. Elizabeth, who succeeded her sister Mary upon the English throne, brought about the triumph of Protestantism in the island, and became the irreconcilable enemy of the king of Spain.

Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559).—Philip II., indeed, a man of sombre and fanatical mind, desired to arrive at the dominion over Europe by other means than those employed by his father. Half of Germany, and all the Scandinavian states, had separated from Rome; and the Reformation, though stifled in Italy and Spain, was fermenting in France, spreading in the Netherlands, triumphant in Scotland and England. Philip II. proposed to crush Protestantism. He wished to be the armed leader of Catholicism throughout Europe, the secular arm of the Holy See, the executor of the sentences of the Church. His faith and his ambition were in accord; he strove to crush heresy not only for the benefit of Christian orthodoxy, but also for the benefit of his own power. With this view, he desired to make peace with the king of France, in order to attach him to his designs, and in April, 1559, peace was at last signed.

By this treaty, France kept the Trois-Évêchés, Boulogne, and Calais. The kings of France and Spain made mutual restoration of their conquests on the frontier of the Netherlands and in Italy. The acquisitions made by France were valuable, protecting her against England and Germany. Yet what she restored to Spain was of much more extent than what she regained from that power. Fortresses in Italy were neither necessary nor advantageous to her, but she abandoned lands which were really French, — Bugey, Bresse, and Savoy, — which she ought to have preserved at any price, especially since the Spaniards did not restore to Jeanne d'Albret the portion of her kingdom of Navarre which they had for half a century been occupying.

Accidental Death of the King (1559). — A double marriage was to cement the peace. Philip II., already twice a widower, was to marry a daughter of the king of France; Philibert Emmanuel, a sister. Brilliant festivities were celebrated before the departure of the princesses. In a tournament which completed them, Henry was struck in the eye by the broken lance of his captain of the guard, the Count of Montgomery. He fell mortally wounded, and expired eleven days later, at the age of forty-one. It was a great misfortune, less for any personal qualities of Henry II. than because by his death he left the royal authority in the hands of children. Three kings, minors or deficient in capacity, were to give up France for thirty years to the horrors of a religious and political war.

CHAPTER XLI.

GOVERNMENT OF FRANCIS I. AND HENRY II.

Results of the Wars of Francis I. and Henry II. — Diverted by Charles VIII. from the paths in which she would have found her true greatness, France for sixty-five years had expended her force in remote expeditions. Four times the French had been at Naples; French cannon-balls had shot across the lagoons of Venice, and the standard of France had floated over Sienna, Milan, and Genoa; now, driven back, it covered only some few places in Piedmont.

Yet if France had lost much she had also gained much. Her victories had been brilliant. The honor of having struggled after all victoriously against Charles V. had increased her prestige. Since 1494 she had gained only Calais, Metz, Toul, Verdun, and some small towns in Italy, but she had saved Europe from the supremacy of Charles V., and Germany from the despotism of the house of Austria. For the great danger to France and to Europe in the sixteenth century was, in fact, the omnipotence of the house of Austria, which ruled supreme upon the Rhine and the Danube, in Italy and in Spain, and which beyond the seas had still another immense empire.

In Italy, French intervention had only made permanent the subjection of the peninsula to foreign masters, but beyond the Rhine her policy was triumphant. The imperial authority had for a moment been increased by Charles V. to the point of exciting a fear lest he should stifle with one blow both the political and the religious liberties of the states of the Empire. France aided the German princes to defend themselves, and the Peace of Augsburg guaranteed at once their independence and the triumph of Protestantism (1555). To Germany this was a misfortune, perpetuating her disunion. But from the point of view of France it was an advantage. The acquisition of Italy was no adequate compensation to the house of Austria. Poor but vigorous, Germany would have aided its master to secure the dominion

of Europe; but exhausted Italy only impoverished its foreign master.

Internal Political Results; Increase of the Royal Power.—

The sixteenth century presents a singular contrast. The spirit of revolt was everywhere abroad, in the arts, in literature, in philosophy, and in religion. In everything but politics there was a desire for complete innovation. The royal power alone continued its upward progress, and the Italian wars consolidated the absolute power of kings by making all the great states military monarchies. In France the nation, in the face of danger, had rallied around its king, the symbol of its national unity and independence, and the training of the nobility to subordination, begun by Louis XI. upon the scaffold, was completed by his successors in the camp.

Francis I. entered fully upon absolute power. "The king's good pleasure" could no longer be resisted, now that he had at his disposal a permanent army and the entire fortune of the country. "France," said a Venetian ambassador, "is the most united country in the world." And he added, "There the king's will is everything, even in the administration of justice; for there is no one who dares to obey his own conscience by gainsaying the monarch." With Francis I. begins the *ancien régime*; that is to say, a government in which the subjects had no guarantee against even the most iniquitous oppression, and the prince no obstacle to his will, even when most capricious.

Transformation of Feudalism.— In the middle of the sixteenth century there remained only one great feudal house,—that of Bourbon-Navarre, whose head, Antoine de Bourbon, was personally insignificant. At a lower grade there were still great lords,—the Montmorencys, the Guises, the La Trémouilles, the Châtillons, etc.,—but no more great vassals. Where the lords had retained their fiefs, they were watched with a jealous eye by the baillis and seneschals of the king, who repressed violence while the parliaments prosecuted crime.

If any remote province escaped from this double surveillance, royal commissioners went to it and held assizes, at which every complaint was received, and rigorous justice immediately executed. The lords still had many privileges of justice, and rights of vassalage highly burdensome to the people; but they no longer administered the government,

they did not coin money, they did not make laws, they did not make war: in a word, they had no longer any political power, except by entering into the service of the king. Reduced to revenues and titles, they were no longer the feudal body; they were the French noblesse.

The Clergy. — The concordat of 1516 had made the clergy dependent upon the king. The ordinance of Villers-Cotterets, in 1539, checked the encroachments of the episcopal courts upon the royal courts by restricting their sphere to spiritual or ecclesiastical causes. At the same time Francis raised from the clergy large contributions which were only in name voluntary.

The Third Estate. — The Third Estate had for a long time been reduced to complete obedience. Content to grow rich through the good order which absolutism secured, they no longer desired the old communal liberties, and did not yet seek liberty of the modern type. But the "gentlemen of the robe" had in their possession four important official charges,—that of chancellor, that of the secretaries of state, that of the presidents, counsellors, judges, and other officers of justice, and that of the treasurers, tax-gatherers, and other financial officers.

The Parliaments; the States-General. — By their learning, their permanent tenure, and the consideration in which they were held, the magistracy had acquired an importance which easily suggested to them the idea of playing a greater part in the state. Entrenched in the nine parliaments of Aix, Bordeaux, Dijon, Grenoble, Paris, Rennes, Rouen, Toulouse, and Dombes, not subject to removal, having almost a hereditary tenure by reason of the purchase of offices, the gentlemen of the robe had already two essentially political rights,—that of remonstrance against royal ordinances, and that of registration, without which no act of the royal will had the force of law. Francis I. destroyed this last guarantee in 1527, forbidding the Parliament of Paris "to meddle in affairs of state or in any other matters save those of justice." The magistracy submitted. They did more; the president of the Parliament of Paris openly declared that the king was above the law; he contented himself with adding that the king's will ought to be regulated by equity and reason.

Though subdued separately, the three estates might regain their strength by union. Francis I. was careful not to convoke the States-General. Henry II. also avoided

bringing the deputies of the nation face to face with an extravagant court. After the battle of St. Quentin it became necessary to gather together at least an assembly of notables, in which the clergy and Third Estate made the most patriotic sacrifices.

General Administration. — Descending from the feudal times, the great officers of the court, such as the constable, still retained a share in the administration. But in the sixteenth century began what was soon to be the omnipotence of ministers. The secretaries of state were charged with the king's correspondence in all public affairs. An ordinance of Henry II., in 1547, fixed their number at four; each of them corresponded with one-fourth of the provinces of the kingdom, and with one-fourth of the foreign countries. Specialization of their functions is of a later date. Thus all the affairs of the king's household, and at a later time ecclesiastical affairs, were assigned to one of them, and in the seventeenth century the three others successively received charge of war, of foreign affairs, and of the navy. The chancellor was head of the department of justice; the superintendent, of that of finance. The organization of the police began.

Army, Navy, and Colonies. — Only the gendarmerie was French; the infantry was composed mainly of foreigners, Germans or Swiss. In 1534 Francis I., resuming the idea of Charles VII., attempted to create a national infantry, organizing seven legions of six thousand men each. Henry II. resumed and improved his father's plan; but the civil wars disorganized everything. Richelieu and Louis XIV. reconstituted this national infantry. Francis made the office of grand master of the artillery one of the first offices of state, placed ten frontier provinces under military governors, began a double line of frontier fortifications, and imported from Italy the use of earthworks.

Francis also maintained a genuine navy. He equipped galleys upon the Mediterranean, on which the French flag was supreme, and larger vessels, propelled by both sails and oars, upon the ocean. The colonial movement which was to change the face of the world was then beginning. The Basques, Bretons, and Normans had established fisheries at Newfoundland as early as 1502. The navigator Verrazano explored in 1524, by order of Francis I., the coasts of North America; in 1535 Jacques Cartier entered the St. Lawrence

and discovered Canada. The merchant marine was constantly increasing.

Finance. — A more complicated administration, more numerous armies, the new navy, and the luxury of the court required enormous sums. Francis I. united his private treasury with that of the nation. He accustomed the clergy of France to furnish him with a regular subsidy. He increased the *tailles* from 7,000,000 to 16,000,000, and added to the *gabelle* or salt-tax. In 1522 he borrowed 200,000 livres (to-day, a million dollars), at eight and one-half per cent., thus originating the public debt of France. The same year he added a fourth chamber to the Parliament of Paris, in order to obtain 1,200,000 livres, and afterward renewed several times these sales of judicial, financial, and administrative offices — a disastrous measure, which needlessly increased the number of the king's servants, diminished the number of persons subject to taxation, and made the administration of justice more expensive to the people. A still more unfortunate measure, borrowed from Italy, was the establishment of the royal lottery (1539). The principal author of the most severely criticised measures of the reign of Francis I. was Chancellor Duprat.

The financial administration of Henry II. was disastrous; he negotiated so many of those loans at ruinous rates of interest which his father had inaugurated, that he left a debt of 17,000,000, equal to 136,000,000 of the present time. Francis I. increased the duties on imports; under Henry II. all imported goods without distinction were, on entrance into the kingdom, subjected to a duty of two crowns per quintal, and of four per cent. *ad valorem*: such were the modest beginnings of the protective system.

General Prosperity. — Yet the general wealth increased faster than the public expenses. The agriculturists borrowed from Italy the cultivation of maize. Two Genoese in 1536 established the first manufactories of silk at Lyons, and the same city founded a commercial bank. Thus, over against the landed wealth of the lords, was gradually forming the personal wealth of the bourgeois. Capital, the great power of modern times, was beginning to be amassed in the hands of the merchants.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE RENAISSANCE UNDER FRANCIS I. AND HENRY II.

The Renaissance. — The Middle Ages were dying. The minds of men, still held by the thousand bonds of old ideas, were struggling to be free. To this revolt against the old systems has been given the appropriate name of the Renaissance. It was the radiant awakening of human reason, the springtime of the mind. After a long and severe winter the earth was reviving under the sun of renovation. All was renewed, — arts, sciences, and philosophy, — and the world began to march forward, to mount into purer light and air. "Oh, age!" cried Ulrich von Hutten, "letters flourish, the minds of men are reawakened; it is a joy to be alive!"

The distinguishing characteristic of this revolution was that the men of that age looked back into the past more than into the future. If they abandoned the masters whom they had hitherto been following, it was to set themselves under the instruction of older masters. But to go back to antiquity was to return to human nature, to the beautiful, to the true, to the independence of the mind and the rule of rationality.

The Renaissance of Art. — When the French crossed over the mountains, Italy was giving birth to a new art. In architecture, the right angle, the arch, the dome, strong and full columns, restrained ornamentation of Greek and Roman origin, tastefully mingled with others, were replacing the acute angle, the pointed arch, the light columns, and the lavish ornamentation of the last age of Gothic architecture. The sculptor worked in the open air, attempted all subjects, studied the nude, and especially studied antiquity, masterpieces of which were every day being discovered. The painter obtained a new beauty of coloring, a new variety of tones. Michael Angelo was finishing the dome of St. Peter, chiselling his great statue of Moses, or painting his Last Judgment; Raphael was producing his School of Athens, his Dispute of the Holy Sacrament, and his divine Madonnas.

France was far behind in painting. But in architecture and in sculpture she had, of herself, entered into these new paths. Roger Anglo had already begun the Palais de Justice at Rouen; others were building at Paris the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny, the Hôtel de la Trémouille, and many other town houses there and in the provincial capitals. Sculpture did not linger behind her elder sister: as witness, the tomb of George of Amboise at Rouen, and that of Francis II. of Brittany at Nantes, the work of Michel Colombe. Thus a genuinely French art was being formed, which in order to develop into the fulness of the Renaissance needed only a little more lightness, grace, and richness, a little more of anatomical and architectural science; and especially the restrained caprice, the regulated fancy, which was one of the signs of those times, in which man was recovering the freedom of his mind. France, therefore, does not owe everything to Francis I.; but artistic talents received from him a liberal and powerful protection. From the Italy of Raphael and Michael Angelo, Francis I. borrowed both masters and models. He bought in Italy, or received as gifts, more than a hundred statues; he acquired paintings of Leonardo and Raphael. By his regard and by his friendship, quite as much as by his favors, he attracted the most distinguished masters from Italy, among them old Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, and Benvenuto Cellini, to build châteaux for him or decorate his palaces, to inspire the French artists or excite their emulation.

Fontainebleau; St. Germain; Chambord; Chenonceaux.—The sight of the sumptuous palaces and elegant villas of Italy had revealed to the French the coldness and barrenness of the gloomy manor-houses which their fathers had inhabited. A new society was forming. The brilliant court of great lords and young ladies, of poets and artists, required new dwellings. Francis I. provided them. He built in the pleasant valley of the Loire, the favorite region of the Valois, the château of Chambord and that of Azay-le-Rideau, commenced Chenonceaux, and finished Amboise. Fontainebleau rose in the midst of the most beautiful forest in France. It bears traces of the influence of the Italian artists, but is an agglomeration of constructions of all sorts and periods. Chambord has more unity, and is entirely French in its origin. It was an architect of Blois, Pierre Nepveu, who built that marvellous edifice, so elegant yet so majestic.

After Chambord may be mentioned Chenonceaux, the vast chateau of Ussé, St. Germain, Madrid, in the Bois de Boulogne, Folembay near Laon, Villers-Cotterets, and the numerous châteaux which the great nobles, following the examples of the kings, erected in place of their old castles.

Pierre Lescot and the Louvre. — These châteaux were only summer residences; grander and more severe buildings, destined to be the official residence of royalty, were erected in the capital by French artists. Pierre Lescot (1510–1571) produced the plan of the Louvre. On the ruins of the old Louvre rose gradually that palace which, in spite of all transformations, is still the completest expression of the French Renaissance. Pierre Lescot constructed only a part of the façade. On the exterior, the basement with its Corinthian columns, the first story with a composite order, the second with an Ionic order, are bound one to the other by the beautiful and graceful sculptures of Jean Goujon and Paul Ponce, surmounted by a bold central pavilion. Such is the theme that other artists and other centuries have developed; and the decadence of monumental art in France may be followed by studying the parts of this palace.

Philibert Delorme. — The second of the great French architects, Philibert Delorme, had crossed the Alps in 1534 to study on the spot the monuments of antiquity and the palaces of the Renaissance. On his return to his native city of Lyons, Cardinal du Bellay attracted him to Paris and introduced him to Henry II. He continued Fontainebleau, planned various châteaux, and obtained from Catherine de' Medici the office of superintendent of buildings. The daughter of the Medici had brought from Tuscany a taste for letters and art. Philibert Delorme, in one of his writings, commends her "for the extreme pleasure which she takes in architecture, drawing and designing plans and profiles of the buildings which she causes to be erected." It was by her orders that he commenced in 1564 the chateau of the Tuileries, of which the communists of 1871 made a heap of ruins. The middle pavilion, the two adjoining galleries with their arcaded porticos rising into two square pavilions of an Ionic and a Corinthian order, one above the other, were the work of Philibert Delorme. Subsequent architects altered his plans for the worse. Louis XIV. undertook to unite the work of Pierre Lescot with that of Philibert Delorme by continuing the gallery of the Louvre till it reached the Tuileries.

Goujon; Pilon; Cousin; Palissy. — Jean Goujon, who has been called the Correggio of sculpture, united knowledge of anatomy with delicacy of chiselling, force with grace. His most remarkable works are the caryatids of the hall of the guards at the Louvre, the delightful figures of the fountain of the Innocents, and a group of Diana the Huntress. Of the works of Germain Pilon the most famous are the sculptures of the mausoleum of Henry II. at St. Denis, and the group of the Three Graces, carved from a single block of marble.

Jean Cousin, born in 1501, was also a great sculptor; but he was unrivalled in France in the sixteenth century for stained glass windows and oil paintings. The windows which he made for Sens, Metz, and Vincennes are placed in the first rank. His canvas of the Last Judgment, now in the museum of the Louvre, is a composition full of fire and originality.

Beside these great names a place should be found for the heroic Bernard Palissy, the potter, born in Agénois about 1500, who, after sixteen years of efforts and ruinous expenses, discovered (1555) the secret of the enamel which was used in Italy, made potteries which are still admired, and was in geology the precursor of Buffon and Cuvier.

The Revival of Letters. — In the fifteenth century literary studies were mostly confined to the subtleties of scholasticism, taught in barbarous Latin. The sciences, without true method, went on at haphazard, delivered over to superstitious practices. The French language was simple and vivid, but lacked amplitude, elevation, and clearness. Gallic imagination, good sense, and gayety made themselves felt in writings both of verse and of prose; but triviality, diffusiveness, and bad taste disfigured the best books. Fortunately the artists were not the only ones to rediscover antiquity. The writers also drew from that abundant source.

The College of France and the Royal Printers. — In letters, also, Francis I. did not create the movement, but he aided it. The old University of Paris with its faculty of theology, the Sorbonne, could not change its spirit and its methods. After the model of the Italian academies, the king founded in 1530 a lay establishment, the College of the Three Languages, or College of France. Hebrew, Greek, Latin, medicine, mathematics, philosophy, all that was new or that opened new paths was there taught gratuitously by the greatest scholars of France.

Francis I. did not create the Royal Printing-Office, which dates only from the time of Louis XIII. (1640); but he caused to be cast, after the beautiful forms of the Venetian types of Aldus Manutius, the fonts of Garamond, who, at his orders, entrusted them to the most distinguished printers, the so-called royal printers, to serve for the handsome editions published by these private establishments. He bought manuscripts of ancient authors in Italy, Greece, and Asia, to increase the riches of the royal library, and caused a great number to be edited. The family of the Estiennes acquired a just celebrity by the beauty and correctness of the works emanating from their presses.

Erudition. — Danès, Postel, Dolet, the great Ciceronian, Budé, the greatest Hellenist of Europe, Lefebvre d'Étaples, and twenty others edited with notes and commentaries a large number of works of sacred and profane antiquity. Erudite publications, though so foreign, it might seem, to the life of every day, in reality put into circulation ideas, results of learning, and forms of style which were to renew the entire literature of France. Already some even went further and looked beyond Greece and Rome. Postel visited Asia, and learned Hebrew, Arabic, and Armenian. Glimpses of the ancient East were obtained. This contact with antiquity animated and strengthened the French mind. It now had models and guides, which it had lacked before, and could commence its first great literary age.

Jurisprudence. — The study which in the sixteenth century advanced beyond all others was that of law. The Italian Alciati, called to Bourges in 1529 by Francis I., applied philology to the study of law; his disciples went further. The erudite Cujas restored the text of the Roman juriconsults and founded the fruitful science of the history of law. Pierre Pithou, Denis Godefroy, who published his *Corpus Juris* in 1596, the profound Doneau, François Hotman, rendered still other services; and he whom his contemporaries called the prince of juriconsults, Dumoulin, advocate of the Parliament of Paris, brought light out of the dark chaos of the *customs*. Thanks to the efforts of these learned scholars, men like Ollivier, Michel de l'Hôpital, Harlay, and De Thou, profound juriconsults or austere magistrates, were able, in the midst of the most frightful religious discords, to improve the civil law and prepare the way for the rational unification of French law.

Philosophy; Medicine; Science. — The Middle Ages had no knowledge of Plato; Aristotle reigned alone. Ramus, a deep student of Plato, was the first in France to shake off the yoke of this superstitious admiration. To combat Aristotle with Plato was to substitute one authority in the place of another; but between the two masters, the mind could go on and seek truth for itself, instead of receiving it ready made from their hands.

The reading of the works of Hippocrates and Galen brought back medicine to experience and observation. Ambroise Paré became the father of French surgery, abandoning the false treatment of gunshot wounds by boiling oil, and replacing the cauterization of arteries by the use of ligatures.

In the sciences, France has in this century one great name, that of Viète, the predecessor of Descartes and Newton in mathematical analysis. Viète was the real inventor of the applications of algebra to geometry.

Prose Literature. — Literature could not remain uninfluenced by this renaissance which was so brilliantly developing in the domains of art and science. But, with the exception of the Essays of Montaigne, the substance was of more excellence than the form. The century did much thinking, but literary skill was in general wanting. The Life of the Chevalier Bayard, by the Loyal Serviteur, seems like the last echo of the naïve chronicles of the Middle Ages. The Memoirs of the brothers Du Bellay are instructive. Those of Blaise de Montluc were called by Henry IV. the soldiers' Bible. Many others relate what they have done or seen, and France was to have, in their memoirs, one of the most interesting branches of historical literature. President de Thou (d. 1617) takes a higher flight in his vast and conscientious Universal History; Brantôme descends lower, to anecdote. Brantôme conducts us to the Novels of the Queen of Navarre (d. 1549), imitations of the Decameron of Boccaccio. A young man of eighteen, Étienne de la Boétie, found energetic and burning words in which to denounce tyranny. A little later, Jean Bodin (b. 1530), in his book on the Republic, that is, on the organization of the state, made an important study of political science. Michel Eyquem, born in 1533, at the château of Montaigne, in Southwestern France, was for five years the mayor of Bordeaux. But he cared little

for affairs, and returned to his château. Montaigne's Essays are, through the charm of their style and the delicacy of their thought, the most instructive and the most attractive moral study of man; but they have not the well-rounded design, the firm drawing, and the relentless logic of minds attached to a strong political or religious creed. He is uncertain respecting many things. But if the opinions of men inspire him with doubts, he has no doubts respecting virtue; but his virtue is pleasant, and not austere. Montaigne goes on, across "fertile and flourishing plains," and on the road he imitates the "bees which pillage the flowers on this side and on that; but they afterwards make of it honey which is all their own: it is no longer either thyme or marjoram." Thus he utters thoughts and images which he encounters in ancient authors: he seeks his plunder everywhere, but makes what he takes his own. The Essays of Montaigne had been preceded by a translation of the historical and moral works of Plutarch, by Amyot (1513-1593); a translation full of genius, and which infused into French literature all the ancient knowledge which the philosopher of Chæroneia had gathered into his books.

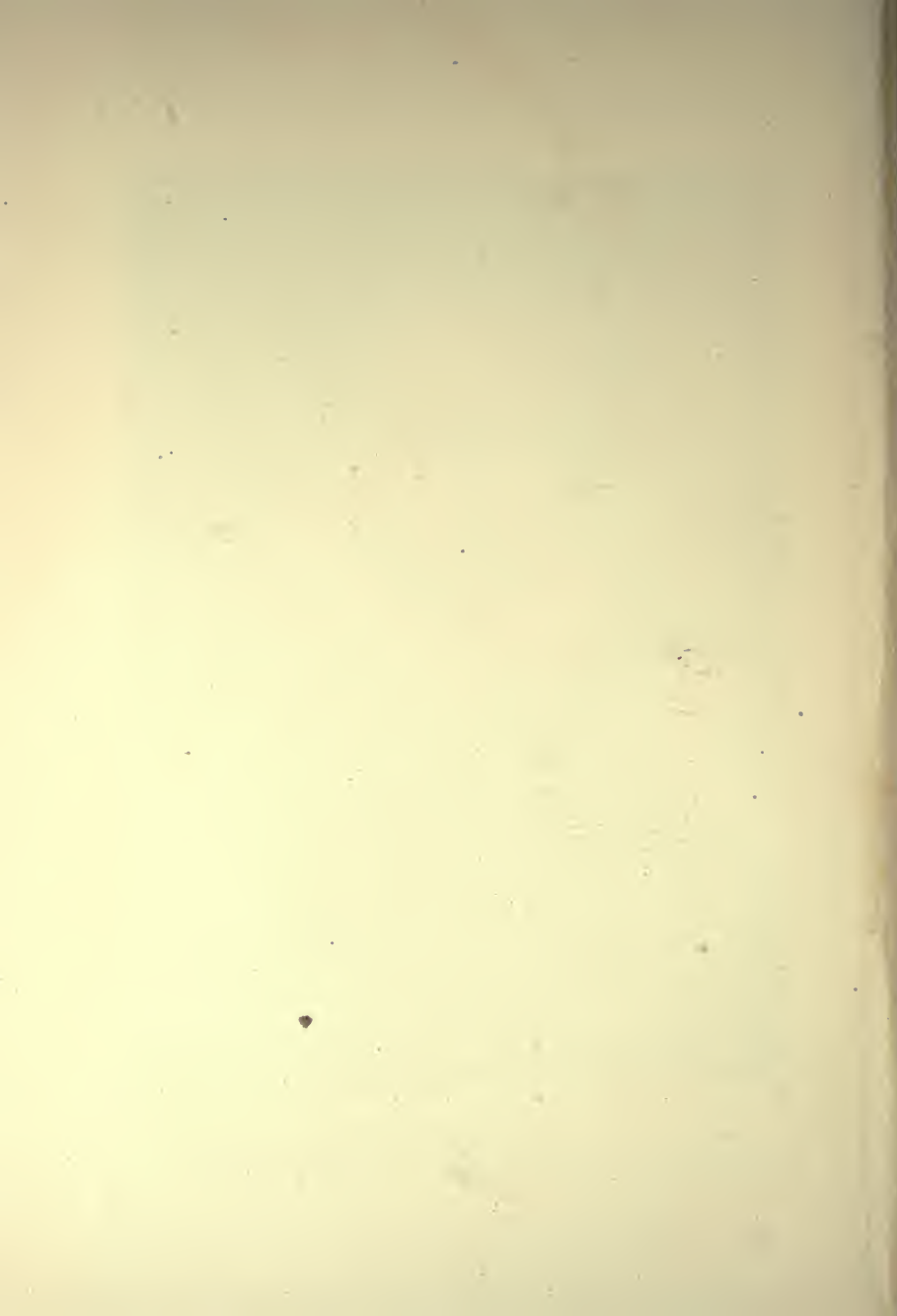
The Middle Ages could not give place to the Renaissance without a struggle. The old spirit changed reluctantly into the new. In the works of François Rabelais (1483-1553) we may see this strange and picturesque conflict in progress. Born at Chinon, at first a cordelier, then a physician, and finally curé of Meudon, Rabelais, in his *Life of Gargantua* and of *Pantagruel*, as in his own life, presents a chaos of the most discordant elements, not yet harmoniously fused. His book, in which reason speaks the language of folly, in which the most boisterous laughter is but a terrible satire, unites in a strange beauty the boldest thought of the Renaissance with the most grotesque forms which the Middle Ages could ever have imagined.

Drama and Poetry:—By an edict of 1548 Parliament had destroyed the old Mysteries. The popular satirical drama had just reached its culmination. For some time men were amused by the transparent allusions through which it was easy to recognize the people, the Church, and, sometimes, types less general and known personages. The Parliament made an end of this pleasure also, by forbidding all persons "to exhibit any spectacle noting any person whatsoever." The popular drama was not perfected



MONTAIGNE.

From a portrait in the "Depot Des Archives du Royaume" at Paris.



by the Renaissance, but set aside. Certain erudite poets had already translated Greek and Latin pieces into French verse. Jodelle composed the first regular French tragedy, his *Cleopatra*, which was played in the presence of Henry II. in 1552. The modern theatre then received its birth before an audience of courtiers. Ancient history drove the Bible from the stage: the human drama took the place of the religious drama. But the French theatre long retained, from antiquity and the court in which it originated, certain traces of the traditional and the conventional, which prevented it from acquiring the original popularity of the Mysteries.

The poets did not abdicate so quickly. Clément Marot (d. 1544) brought poetry to the court. The court gave it more delicacy and elegance, without taking from it its vigor or its maliciousness. A page of Francis I., Marot fought with him at Pavia, and was taken prisoner. A translator of the Psalms of David, he was accused of sharing the new opinions, was several times persecuted, and died at Turin in misery. His verses are all wit and grace, but have little strength. The strength which French poetry lacked, Ronsard attempted to impart to it, by making it Latin and Greek, and he wasted in this useless effort his true sensibility of soul and the real power of his genius. He borrowed from the ancients not only the form of the ode and the epic, their ideas and their metaphors, but the very construction of the phrase and the composition of the words. In his *Franciade* he aspired to equal Homer and Virgil, and his age, infatuated with antiquities, almost agreed with him. The most illustrious scholars, the most judicious minds, Scaliger and De Thou, had displayed a sort of adoration for him. But little of Ronsard has remained current, except some few well-turned verses. Yet his language has more of elevation and of nobility, or, to speak more truly, of solemnity, than that of his predecessors. He was the originator of the sublime style.

Ronsard had gathered around him a society of poets, which he called, in reminiscence of the Alexandrine poets, the Pleiad. They were six in number: Du Bellay, Baïf, Belleau, Jodelle, Jamyn, and Pontus de Thiard. Another of his disciples, Du Bartas, showed by his very exaggeration, in his *Semaine de la Création*, the folly of these innovators who were constantly looking backward. Finally Malherbe came to open the great age of French literature, the seventeenth century.

ELEVENTH PERIOD.

RELIGIOUS WARS.—FEUDAL AND COMMUNAL ANARCHY RENEWED.

CHAPTER XLIII.

FRANCIS II.

(1559-1560 A.D.)

The Children of Henry II. — Henry II., at his death, left four sons of tender age; the children of Catherine de' Medici. Born sickly and early exhausted by excesses, three of them quickly succeeded one another on the throne without leaving issue, so that during a quarter of a century the burden of absolute power, so difficult to bear, fell into the hands of children or of inexperienced young men. They lived long enough to exhibit good qualities of mind and great faults of heart. They were eloquent speakers, poets to some extent, and always patrons of letters and arts, but they had vices which are fatal to states. The eldest, Francis II., reigned less than a year and a half.

Catherine de' Medici. — The king's majority began at thirteen years of age; but at sixteen, Francis II. was still under tutelage. The queen-mother was called upon to exercise great influence. She was intelligent but superstitious, full of taste for the fine arts and for delicate pleasures, but without much strictness of morality. She had hitherto given proof only of patience and address. Transported suddenly from court circles into political factions and wars, she was not equal to her new position. She carried the finesse of the drawing-room into the affairs of the State. She had a taste for underhand dealings. She wished to

rule men through their evil passions, to oppose parties one to another. All distinction between good and evil was effaced from her mind; she had left in her heart only one good feeling, her affection for her children. In order to secure power for her sons she was willing to use every means. So abandoned a policy was sure to receive its punishment.

Mary Stuart. — Mary Stuart, daughter of James V., and wife of Francis II., for a time kept power from Catherine's hands. In that brilliant court of France, in the midst of the scholars, poets, and artists, who always gathered about her, Mary was enjoying without misgiving the pleasure of exercising the charms of her wit and beauty. Her influence over the king was great; she left all affairs of business to her two uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine and Duke Francis of Guise.

The Aspirants for Power. — The house of Guise, the younger branch of the ducal house of Lorraine, had risen rapidly of late. Claude, its head, became Duke of Guise; his brother Jean was made a cardinal. Of his sons, the eldest, Francis, had defended Metz and reconquered Calais; another, Charles, had succeeded his uncle as cardinal. The young king confided military affairs to the former, civil affairs to the latter. Catherine de' Medici had, however, the titular office of "general superintendent of the government." The house of Bourbon then had, as its heads, Antoine, who had married Jeanne d'Albret, now queen of Navarre; and his two brothers, Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, and Louis, prince of Condé. They were the nearest relatives of the Valois; and Antoine, in case of a minority, could have laid claim to the regency; but at present the Bourbons asked for nothing. Montmorency was relieved of the burden of office.

Calvin; Progress of the Reformation. — Only forty years had elapsed since Luther began his preaching against the Church, and already Europe was divided into two communions. England, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, half of Germany and Switzerland had separated from Rome; the South, Italy and Spain, were still obedient. The Reformation would be triumphant if France went over to it.

Under Francis I. and Henry II., the Sorbonne had condemned the new opinions. Parliament had forbidden preaching in the country districts and threatened the heretics with

death. Though the government relied on the Protestants in other countries, it made no concession to those at home.

Hitherto the reformers of France had been without a guide; Calvin had placed himself at their head. He was born in 1509, at Noyon. Having become acquainted with the Lutheran opinions at the university of Bourges, he adopted them with some modifications, and expounded and defended them in a clear and methodical work which he called *The Christian Institution*. In it he attacked the primacy of the Holy See, the real presence, etc. After much wandering he established himself at Geneva, where he gained unbounded influence. From 1541 to 1565, he ruled there as an absolute master, regulating doctrines and severely reforming manners. Under the hands of this stern lawgiver the Reformation in France took definite shape; it went farther than that of Luther, for it denied absolutely the real presence, and proscribed as abominations all the splendors of the Catholic worship. The French Reformation identified itself with Calvinism, and Geneva became the Rome of Protestantism. The Calvinists or Huguenots increased in the midst of persecution. The council of Trent (1545), the new religious order of the Company of Jesus, created expressly to combat heresy, were powerless to arrest its progress. This is the explanation of the unlooked-for treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. The two kings felt themselves impelled to make peace in order to arrest the progress of the reformers. By a secret convention, or at least by formal promises, Philip II. and Henry II. agreed to extirpate heresy.

Punishment of Anne Dubourg. — Henry immediately published the edict of Écouen, which pronounced sentence of death against the Protestants and their abettors. Two members of the Parliament, Dufaur and Anne Dubourg, did not conceal their sympathy with the persecuted. The king considered himself insulted and defied; he had them arrested at once, and commanded that they should be brought to trial. His death did not stop the trial. The ministers of the Reformed Church held their first national synod at Paris to draw up a petition in favor of the prisoners. But Dubourg was burned in the Place de Grève.

Power of the Reformed Party; Political Discontent. — Nevertheless, the reformers proceeded to organize. They formed a union of their churches, and established relations

with the German Protestants. The party grew large by the addition, not only of religious, but of political opponents,—the princes of the blood, Antoine de Bourbon and Condé, the great nobles, disgusted at the rule of foreigners. The lesser nobles of the provinces, resenting the loss of their privileges, abolished by royalty, inclined, through political discontent, to the new theological views. The austere and independent doctrines of Calvinism suited them; and some of them could not help thinking of the rich domains of the Church which the German and English lords had secularized, of the possible recovery of their lost privileges, and united to break down the new constitutional arrangements.

Conspiracy of Amboise (1560).—The two Guises exercised power with arrogance and partiality. They disbanded the old military organizations in which a number of poor gentlemen had served unpaid, and replaced them by Germans and Italians. This summary fashion of settling accounts roused the indignation of many men, who, unable to excite civil war, engaged in a plot. They believed they could count on the two Bourbons; they were at least sure of Condé, and they thought that it would be easy to draw on the three Châtillons, nephews of Montmorency: one of them, cardinal-bishop of Beauvais; another, Coligny, admiral of France, and long an enemy of Duke Francis; the third, Dandelot, colonel-general of the infantry. They proposed to take the king away from the Guises. Condé was secretly the chief; but the enterprise was conducted by La Renaudie, a gentleman of Limousin. A number of Huguenots were to proceed to the court at Blois, and demand religious liberty; La Renaudie should follow with five hundred gentlemen and a thousand soldiers. But a lawyer, who had at first approved the design, was led by his fears to reveal it.

Francis of Guise removed the court to the castle of Amboise, which was more easily defended, summoned thither Condé and the Châtillons, and suspended the prosecutions of the reformers, so as to divide his adversaries. La Renaudie advanced upon Amboise, but was surprised and killed. The Duke of Guise, appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom with unlimited powers, showed himself merciless; and for a month there was continual beheading, hanging, and drowning.

Condé was compromised by the confessions of several of

the prisoners. No one doubted that he was the author of the movement. But he haughtily demanded a solemn assembly of the princes, and defied to single combat whoever should dare to accuse him. The Duke of Guise had not sufficient proofs; unable to put him to death, he assumed the part of a protector; he offered to be his second; seeing this, no one ventured to take up the challenge.

The Chancellor de l'Hôpital; the Edict of Romorantin (1560).—The Guises had gained a Pyrrhic victory. So many executions for so unsubstantial a conspiracy excited general horror. It caused the death of the chancellor Olivier. Mary Stuart had not interfered. But the young king had wept, and had called men to witness that the blame lay upon his uncles, and not upon himself. The queen-mother had perceived "that there had been in the whole matter more of discontent than of Huguenotism." She gave the seals to Michel de l'Hôpital, "one of those noble souls of the antique type, another Cato the Censor." The Guises, elated by success, demanded the introduction of the Inquisition pure and simple. L'Hôpital refused. He caused (May, 1560) the edict of Romorantin to be issued, which gave cognizance of the crime of heresy to the bishops' courts; but this was far preferable to the establishment of the terrible Inquisition.

Preparations for Civil War.—L'Hôpital convoked an assembly of notables at Fontainebleau. Coligny repaired thither, and presented to the king the petition of the Huguenots of Normandy, who prayed for liberty of conscience. But it was decided to await the meeting of the States-General in December (1560). There was urgent need that the voice of the nation should be heard above the tumult of rival ambitions and opposing creeds. The Guises, allying themselves with the merciless king of Spain, assembled an army. The Bourbons and the Châtillons raised companies of gentlemen, and organized resistance in the South.

The Arrest of Condé; Death of Francis II. (1560).—The States-General met at Orleans. The king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé attended. The Guises caused Condé to be arrested as soon as he entered the city, and sought to have his brother killed in the king's antechamber. But the young prince dared not give the signal. A standing committee was nominated to try Condé; his fate was predeter-

mined; he was condemned to death, and would have perished but for L'Hôpital, who refused to sign the sentence, and thus gained time, for the young king was dying. He expired December 5th, after a reign of seventeen months.

France would soon have forgotten this unfortunate young man but for two memories associated with his reign: one that of the power of the Guises and the beginning of the wars of religion; the other that of the young Mary Stuart, who was obliged after the death of her husband to renounce the land of her adoption and return to wild Scotland. She returned to find a crown indeed, but also chains, — a captivity of eighteen years, and instead of a throne at last the scaffold.

CHAPTER XLIV.

CHARLES IX.

(1560-1574 A.D.)

Regency of Catherine de' Medici; the States-General of Orleans (1560).—Power fell into the hands of the queen-mother, her second son, Charles IX., being only ten years and a half old. She renounced the policy of extreme measures, confirmed the Guises in their offices, but appointed Antoine de Bourbon lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and freed Condé. Her principal counsellor was L'Hôpital. The latter purposed civil reforms. Catherine hoped to oppose parties one to another.

The States-General did not render the assistance that L'Hôpital expected from them. The debt amounted to 42,480,000 livres, which would be equivalent to 350,000,000 francs to-day; the net revenues did not amount to 12,260,000 francs. The nobility made no grant; the clergy, since the time of Francis I., almost annually made a grant of tenths; it consented further to furnish a free gift of 1,600,000 livres for six years, and in ten years to redeem a considerable amount of the debt. As for the Third Estate, which bore all the weight of taxation, it demanded a reduction, the abolition of the venality of offices and internal customs, the convocation of the states every five years. On the religious question the three orders were divided. The clergy desired the extermination of heresy; the Third Estate was for religious freedom; the nobility was divided.

Measures of L'Hôpital; Ordinance of Orleans (1561).—The chancellor acted resolutely. He re-established equilibrium between the expenditures and the receipts. Royal letters enjoined it upon Parliament to suspend all the prosecutions in matters of religion. The celebrated ordinance of Orleans re-established canonical elections, forbade the clergy to exact fees for administering the sacraments, compelled them to reside in their benefices, and transferred the administration of justice from baillis and seneschals, gen-

erally soldiers and ignorant of the law, to deputies who should be either lawyers or magistrates.

The Edict of July; States of Pontoise; Conference of Poissy (1561).—L'Hôpital continued his conciliatory policy. While declaring the meetings for preaching unlawful by the edict of July, he granted a general amnesty and suspended the execution of all sentences in matters of religion until the decision of the council. It had been agreed at the States of Orleans, that commissioners should assemble with full powers to decide upon the question of subsidies. The chancellor assembled them at Pontoise, in August; at the same time he convoked, at Poissy, a conference of theologians of the two religions, who were to find, if possible, a compromise which should put an end to all disputes. The former body, in which several Calvinists had seats, demanded their assembly every two years, religious toleration, reform in offices of magistracy and finance, and finally, in order to pay the debts of the State, the sale of the property of the Church, which was estimated at one hundred and twenty millions. Here was already the idea which, later, was adopted by the Revolution. The clergy warded off the blow by making liberal promises; but soon it became necessary to adjourn the assembly.

Edict of January; Party Animositities (1562).—The queen, however, sustained the chancellor; on this occasion she went even farther than he did. Her letters to the Pope demanded serious reforms in discipline and rites. Also she allowed L'Hôpital to issue the edict of January (1562), which authorized Calvinistic worship in the country districts while prohibiting it in the walled towns; suspended all punishment of heretics, but forbade their interfering with the old worship. This was the first real act of toleration.

This virtue, unhappily, was at that time but little understood. The more tolerant the government became, the more intense became the hatred of the Catholics for the Protestants. The monks, and especially the Jesuits, who had for two years past been legalized in France, incited the faithful to defend the religion abandoned by the queen. The cardinal of Lorraine, the doctors of the Sorbonne, secretly implored the assistance of Philip II., who threateningly remonstrated with the queen-mother. The Protestants, on the other hand, were not content with what had been granted them. Riots and quarrels broke out on all sides.

Massacre of Vassy (1562).—“The clergy, part of the nobility, and almost all the people,” says Castelnaud, “imagined that the cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise were appointed by God to preserve the Catholic religion.” They were recalled to Paris, contrary to the wishes of L'Hôpital, by Marshal St. André and by the king of Navarre, who had abandoned the Protestant party, in the hope of obtaining from Philip II. the restitution of his small kingdom. On the 1st of March, 1562, the Duke of Guise was passing through Vassy in Champagne. It was Sunday, and he stopped there to attend mass. The singing of six or seven hundred Protestants who were assembled in a barn near by attracted his attention. Some of his followers determined to put a stop to what they considered an insult to their duke, and, the Protestants refusing to be silent, drew their swords upon them. The Protestants defended themselves by throwing stones. The Duke of Guise, hastening to the aid of his followers, was wounded on the cheek; then all his retainers fell upon the unfortunate Protestants, who were unarmed, killed sixty of them and wounded more than two hundred without distinction of age or sex. A few days afterwards at Sens others were massacred while returning from church.

First Civil War (1562).—This was the signal for a war which, seven times suspended by short-lived treaties, broke out again seven times, and for thirty-two years covered France with blood and ruins. At the news of the massacre of Vassy, the Huguenots everywhere took up arms; the Duke of Guise carried off the king and his mother by main force from Fontainebleau and took him to Paris, where the Protestants were few in number. But outside of Paris they amounted to at least one-tenth of the population, and they included the best part of the provincial nobility.

They proclaimed Condé defender of the king and protector of the kingdom; in the course of a few weeks they had taken possession of more than two hundred towns, among them Rouen, Lyons, Tours, Montpellier, Poitiers, Grenoble, Orleans, and Blois. The Guises were ill prepared, but they had possession of the king; they caused the Calvinists to be declared rebels, and Condé guilty of high treason; Philip II., the champion of Catholicism throughout Europe, gave them a corps of three thousand steady and brave men from his old Spanish troops. Condé,

on his part, sought aid from the Protestant Elizabeth, who sent him three thousand soldiers to defend Rouen on condition that Havre should be surrendered to her in pledge for the money she advanced.

In the South the war broke out everywhere at once, without order and without plan, according to the impulses of hatred and revenge, and with all the cruelty which usually characterizes civil wars. Two party chieftains were distinguished above all others for their cruelties, — the Catholic Blaise de Montluc, the *royalist butcher*, in Languedoc and Guienne; the Protestant Des Adrets, in Provence and Dauphiny. The first was always accompanied by two executioners whom he called his lackeys; in one city he had seventy Protestant ministers hung on the posts of the market. "It could be known where I had passed, for on the trees by the roadside the signs could be seen."

The Siege of Rouen (1562). — In the North, where the chief leaders were, there was more concert of action, and the fate of the war was decided there. The Duke of Guise set out for Rouen at the head of the Catholic army, re-enforced by Antoine de Bourbon. Though that city was incapable of standing a siege, it still made some resistance. Antoine de Bourbon received a wound there, from the effects of which he died; but after a few days the place was taken. "This great city," says Castelnau, "full of all sorts of treasure, was plundered for the space of eight days without respect to either religion, notwithstanding that on the next day after the capture an order had been given to the effect that all troops, without respect to nationality, should leave the city on pain of death." After the pillage came the legal executions.

Battle of Dreux (1562). — Condé, re-enforced by seven thousand men from Germany, attempted to make amends for this loss, and attacked the faubourgs of Paris. Repulsed by the Spaniards, he turned towards Havre for the purpose of adding to his army the English who were there; but he was forced, by the Duke of Guise, to halt near Dreux (December 19th). There were about fifteen or sixteen thousand men on each side. Condé broke the Catholic centre, wounded and captured the constable; but the Swiss restored the fight, and the Duke of Guise completed the victory by a flank movement; the Prince of Condé was made prisoner.

Death of the Duke of Guise (February, 1563). — This was a

great success for Guise. Of his two rivals for power, Marshal St. André was killed, Montmorency was a captive, and he had possession also of the chief of the Huguenot army. Catherine de' Medici was much alarmed, in spite of the joy which she affected; she spoke of negotiating, but Guise did not wait for those whom he had overthrown to rally; he actively followed up his victory and laid siege to Orleans so as to cut off communication between the Protestants of the north and those of the south. The city could not have resisted much longer when a fanatical Protestant, Poltrot de Méré, entered his camp as a refugee and wounded him mortally by a shot from a pistol.

Francis of Guise was a great captain; France owes Calais to him, and he saved Metz for her; but she owes to him also the religious wars which for thirty years deluged her in blood and covered her with ruins. The slaughter continued because it had been begun; but it was he who began it.

The Peace and Edict of Amboise (March, 1563).—Guise being dead, Condé and Montmorency prisoners, the queen-mother was mistress of the government. She knew full well that these ambitious men desired the triumph of their faith doubtless, but still more their personal supremacy. Civil war unsettled respect for royal authority. The peasants refused to pay the ancient feudal dues to the nobility. Catherine, to put an end to these agitations, offered peace to Condé; he signed a treaty at Amboise in return for an edict which authorized the Reformed worship in the houses of the nobility, throughout all the domains of the justiciary nobles, and in one city of each bailiwick. As an evidence of their real union, Catholics and Protestants undertook in common an expedition to take Havre from the English. The city opened its gates after a few days.

Philip II. and Catherine; Conferences of Bayonne (1565).—The council of Trent having failed to bestow peace upon Christendom, each sovereign began to seek that his faith should triumph. The king of Spain, Philip II., pledged all the forces of his vast monarchy to the cause. He suppressed heresy in Italy and in Spain, and proposed to suppress it in the Netherlands, in England, and in France. The Guises joined with him in this design; he now endeavored to induce Catherine to do so.

Catherine had at first faithfully executed the peace of

Amboise; but the extremists of the two parties were not content with this truce. Parliament long refused to register the edict of pacification. Personal animosities broke out; assassination took the place of civil war. The queen, moreover, found the Bourbons too powerful. As formerly, when confronting the great Guise, she inclined to the reformers, so now, face to face with Condé, she leaned toward the Catholics. Little by little she restricted the privileges granted to the Protestants by the edict of Amboise. During a progress through the South she changed all the governors suspected of Calvinism. This progress terminated at Bayonne by a conference with the Duke of Alva, the terrible minister of Philip II. It does not appear that the massacre of the Protestants was proposed by the Duke of Alva. But the reformers were easily persuaded that an alliance concluded under the influence of such a man could have no other aim than the extermination of heresy. The stern Pope, Pius V., continued, as pontiff, the war which, as grand inquisitor, he had waged against the new doctrines. The Jesuits throughout Europe were fighting enthusiastically and intelligently for the Catholic cause.

Ordinance of Moulins (1566). — Meanwhile the illustrious chancellor continued his reforms. In 1566 he issued the ordinance of Moulins for the reformation of justice. He declared the royal domain inalienable and imprescriptible, fixed the manner of nomination and examination of judges so as to diminish the inconveniences of the venality of offices, tried to establish uniformity and regularity of procedure, restricted the privileges of the officers of the crown; deprived the cities of jurisdiction over local police, and subjected the inferior courts to the inspection of the superior; in short, he directed the state toward unity of power, of jurisdiction, and of procedure. His efforts were wasted upon his contemporaries; but succeeding generations profited by them.

Second Civil War (1567-1568). — The Protestants, threatened by the court, resumed their assemblies, and collected money and arms. Catherine, on her part, reorganized the royal army, and enlisted six thousand men in Switzerland. The Duke of Alva was in the Netherlands with considerable forces which could on occasion be used in France. The reformers planned a new conspiracy, but it failed.

Then Condé blockaded Paris. The inhabitants forced old

Montmorency to go out to meet him. The valiant old constable, who was after all a very poor general, made an unfortunate disposition of his troops and was killed: he was seventy-five years old. The battle (of St. Denis, 1567) was indecisive, though the Catholics retained possession of the field. Marshal Vieilleville was right when he said to the king: "Your majesty has not gained the battle, still less the prince of Condé; the king of Spain is the victor; for on both sides together, enough valiant captains and brave French soldiers to conquer Flanders and all the Netherlands have been killed." Some time after Condé received nine thousand German lanzknechts, or horsemen. The queen-mother had no troops to oppose them. L'Hôpital seized the opportunity and proposed a peace; it was signed at Longjumeau (1568), on condition that the Protestants should restore the places they occupied, but that the edict of Amboise should be re-established without restrictions.

Disgrace of L'Hôpital (1568).— This was but an insecure peace. How could men lay down their arms at that time in France? Already, in Champagne, a *holy league* had been formed. Religious war was waging everywhere; in Great Britain, between Elizabeth and Mary Stuart; in the Netherlands, between the Duke of Alva and the *Beggars*; even, in one sense, in Spain. Catherine wished to put an end to this war, which was continually breaking out anew, by some stroke after the manner of the Italians.

L'Hôpital was not the man to suit such a policy; he was accordingly displaced (May, 1568). A plot was laid to carry off on the same day Condé and Coligny from Burgundy, and Jeanne d'Albret, the widow of Antoine de Bourbon, from Béarn; but all three of them escaped: Condé and Coligny went to Rochelle, which city had in the last war taken sides with them. The intrepid Jeanne d'Albret joined them there with her son Henry of Béarn. She offered "her life, her possessions, her children for the defence of the cause."

Third Civil War (1568–1570).— Catherine now believed herself ready for war. She declared it by issuing an edict which forbade the exercise of the so-called reformed religion under pain of death, and ordered that all Protestant ministers should leave the kingdom within a fortnight. All the members of the parliaments and of the universities were compelled to take an oath of Catholicism. The court had

only an army of eighteen thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry with which to enforce such edicts. It was placed under the command of the young Duke of Anjou; Tavannes and Biron were to direct it. All the southwest was at that time in possession of the Calvinists.

Battle of Jarnac; Death of Condé (1569).— In the following spring Marshal Tavannes surprised the admiral with only the rear-guard, near Jarnac (March 13, 1569). Condé hearing of it hastened to his assistance with three hundred horse. He had been wounded in the arm the night before, and just as he was about to charge he received in addition a kick from a horse which broke his leg. In spite of all he dashed forward upon the enemy; but his horse was killed, and he was thrown down. He was in the act of surrendering to a gentleman, when the captain of the guards of the Duke of Anjou shot him in the head.

The loss of this brave and active prince was a serious one. The Protestants spoke of abandoning the open country, and shutting themselves up in Rochelle; but Jeanne d'Albret presented herself to the discouraged army at Saintes with her son Henry of Béarn and the young prince of Condé. "My friends," said she, "here are two new chiefs whom God gives you, and two orphans whom I confide to your care." Henry, prince of Béarn, then fifteen years old, was born at Pau, and had been reared with severe simplicity as a country gentleman. Brave and intelligent, he pleased every one. He was appointed general-in-chief, with Coligny as counsellor and lieutenant.

Coligny; Battle of Moncontour (1569).— Coligny, the defender of St. Quentin, had many qualities necessary to a party chieftain in such a war. A staunch and intelligent Protestant, he was loved and respected by ministers as well as soldiers. He was not perhaps a very great general, and Catherine did not consider him a profound politician; but he never allowed himself to be cast down; he saw clearly, and he knew how to turn everything to advantage. He wished to lead his Huguenots to the conquest of the Spanish Low Countries, that he might win for France, by one stroke, fair provinces and internal peace. He conceived the Protestant colonization of America; if he had succeeded, French blood and the French language would now have been predominant in the new world.

Re-enforced by thirteen thousand Germans, Coligny took

the offensive, and defeated the Catholic army; but Tavannes repaired the loss. German Catholics, Spaniards sent by the Duke of Alva, Italians sent by Pius V., swelled the forces of the Duke of Anjou. Having been driven to the Loire, he turned back and succeeded in surprising the Protestant army near Moncontour: six hundred Huguenot soldiers were left on the field of battle. But the victory of Moncontour was as futile as that of Jarnac. Coligny traversed the whole South, recruiting his army as he went.

Peace of Saint-Germain (1570).—Catherine de' Medici triumphed in the council. Nothing was gained by fighting a party which, though continually defeated, continually renewed the attack; some other method must be tried. In order to disarm the Protestants, she granted them the free exercise of their worship in two cities in each province, and in all those in which it was already established; the admission of Calvinists to all employments, and the possession of four cities, — Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité.

St. Bartholomew (1572).—At the news of this peace there was one great cry of indignation from the Catholics. Catherine followed up her new policy. She hastened the marriage of the young prince of Béarn and Margaret, sister of Charles IX., and accepted the proposition of Coligny to lead his coreligionists against the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, where the Dutch *Beggars* had just formed the Batavian Republic. Such an enterprise was pleasing to the Huguenots, and seemed like a return to the old foreign policy, laid aside since the death of Henry II. Coligny saw in a war with Spain the means of preserving gloriously and securely the peace of France.

Charles IX. was then twenty-one years old; mentally bright, but of a weak and violent character. He had more than once thought that the Huguenot chiefs carried their heads too high, but, impatient of his mother's rule and envious of his brother, he eagerly entered into the new projects; wrote to Coligny, to Jeanne d'Albret, and pushed forward the marriage of Henry of Béarn and his sister. The queen of Navarre decided to come to Paris, and the admiral followed her thither, as did also a number of Huguenot gentlemen.

Catherine had succeeded too well. The king now saw things only through Coligny's eyes. The Protestants, encouraged, drew up in synod at Rochelle the very confession

of faith which they hold at the present day. Catherine remonstrated with her son, but he paid no heed to her; the Duke of Anjou, the Guises, Tavannes, and all the Catholic nobles who had fought against the Reformation were indignant at seeing the power pass into the hands of their enemies. Philip II., threatened in the Low Countries, distributed money among the people for the purpose of inciting them to riots; Paris grumbled. Jeanne d'Albret died suddenly; it was thought from the effects of poison, but this has never been proved. When the marriage was celebrated, August 18th, before the porch of Notre Dame there was great difficulty in preventing a riot. Catherine fomented these disorders. On the 12th of August Coligny was shot by an assassin in the pay of the Duke of Guise. Charles went immediately to the admiral and swore to avenge him. The next day the queen came with the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Angoulême, Tavannes, and others, to assail the king. She represented that the two parties were ready to come to blows, that each of them would elect a chief, and that the king would have nothing left but his title. After much incitement and threatening on her part, Charles cried out suddenly that since they were determined to kill the admiral, he wished they would kill all the Huguenots in France, "so that not one would be left to reproach him."

The municipality of Paris was ready. The provost of the merchants, being summoned to the Louvre, received an order from the king to shut the gates and to place on guard captains, lieutenants, and citizens whom he could trust. The bell of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois was to give the signal at three o'clock on the night of the 24th of August, the feast of St. Bartholomew. At two o'clock the bell began to ring; soon the bells of all the churches responded.

Henry of Guise, Aumale, and the bastard of Angoulême hastened to the hôtel of Coligny. A German, named Besme, was the first to enter his chamber, and plunged his sword into the admiral's breast. He and the others then threw him into the courtyard, where Guise insultingly kicked his dead body.

A white mark had been made upon the houses of the Huguenots. Téligny, the son-in-law of the admiral, Rochefoucauld, a friend of the king, and others were killed after the admiral, most of them being surprised while in bed. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were taken before

the king, who threatened them with death unless they abjured Protestantism. Accounts differ as to the number of the slain: some estimate it at ten thousand, others at four thousand, and still others at two thousand. The last statement is the most probable. The next morning the king is said to have stood at one of the windows of the Louvre, firing with a musket upon the flying Protestants; but during the day he became horrified at what he had done, and sent despatches into all the provinces to stop the contagion of the example set by Paris. But the crowd, with the ferocious animal instincts found among the lower classes, and especially among the dregs of those in large cities, continued the slaughter. They killed not only Huguenots, but their own creditors, rivals, and enemies. Thieves with white crosses on their hats and white handkerchiefs on their arms murdered, under pretext of Huguenotism, those whom they wished to plunder.

Meanwhile the king, taking the advice of his mother, went, on the twenty-sixth, to assume before the Parliament the responsibility of that dreadful night, and sent new orders to the governors of the provinces, which extended the massacre to Meaux, La Charité, Orleans, Saumur, Lyons, Bourges, Toulouse, Bordeaux, etc.; fifteen or twenty thousand victims perished. Some of the governors refused to obey the court: among them, Montmorency, in the Isle of France; Longueville in Picardy; and those of Lower Normandy, Burgundy, Dauphiny, Languedoc, and Auvergne. The executioner of Troyes refused to take part in the murders, saying that it was not his duty to execute until sentence had been passed. The executioner of Lyons returned the same answer.

L'Hôpital may be counted among the victims of this fearful stroke of fanaticism. When the assassins were about to enter his castle, where he was living in retirement, some horsemen came up and stopped them. Their chief then told the old man that their object was not to kill him, but to bring him pardon. "I did not know," he answered, "that I deserved either death or pardon." He died six months after, broken down by grief and mortification: his last words were, "Let the memory of that accursed day be blotted out forever."

Fourth Civil War; Peace of Rochelle (1573).— This great crime was as useless as crimes always are. The

Protestants had lost their chiefs, but as soon as the stunning effect of this was over, they took up arms again in desperate rage. The Duke of Anjou besieged Rochelle, but could not take it, although he had with him all the princes, most of the great nobles, and almost all of the court nobility. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé had been forced to follow him thither. Nîmes, Montauban, a hundred other cities in which the Protestants were in a majority, had shut their gates. At the same time the queen saw among the Catholics a number of persons who, while they were not favorable to the Calvinists, were certainly enemies to the Guises on account of their furious intolerance. Montmorency and his brothers were not with the royal army; they formed a third party which would soon come to the front. After four assaults, the besiegers were no further advanced than at the beginning; the Duke of Anjou, anxious to go and take the crown of Poland, entered into a negotiation, and Charles IX. was obliged to grant liberty of conscience to the Protestants, by the peace of Rochelle, at the very moment when he was receiving fervent and enthusiastic congratulations for the massacre of St. Bartholomew from the courts of Rome and Spain.

Death of Charles IX. (1574).—Mortification on account of this reverse, remorse, the excesses resulting from an impetuous temperament, and the violent exercises of hunting, in which he frantically engaged, undermined the constitution of the young king. A frightful disease was wearing him away; he became subject to convulsions and furious attacks of delirium, during which the blood would burst from the pores of his skin, his nose, and his ears. Visions of bleeding victims terrified him, and he fancied he constantly heard cries of lamentation. He died on May 30, 1574, at twenty-four years of age, abandoned by every one except his old Huguenot nurse.

CHAPTER XLV.

HENRY III.

(1574-1589 A.D.)

Henry III. — The Duke of Anjou, heir presumptive of Charles IX., was in Poland at the time of his brother's death. Catherine de' Medici had obtained from the Polish nobility a crown for her favorite son. Henry was at once disgusted with this land of the Sarmatians, with its rude but manly nobles. At the news of his brother's death, he fled from his capital during the night. Pursued by his subjects, he did not stop till he reached the Austrian territories. The pleasures of Vienna, as well as those of Venice, detained him a long time; he did not reach his new kingdom until two months after he had stealthily left the old.

Henry was a king totally unfit for the situation bequeathed him by his brother. The victories gained in his name by Tavannes had given him an exaggerated reputation; the abuse of pleasures had killed out the fiery blood which at first had made him seem as brave as his ancestors; when he was not engaged in monstrous debaucheries, he seemed only to enjoy childish and feminine pastimes, and all his religion consisted in certain external practices. He was wholly given over to puerile occupations.

His first acts showed what was to be expected of him. He gave the Duke of Savoy Pinerolo, Perosa, and Savigliano, the last remnant of the conquests of Francis I. beyond the mountains, and had scarcely entered France when he ordered all Protestants to become Catholics or to leave the kingdom. He made a formal entrance into Paris by which he disgusted all sensible people, "being surrounded by a great number of monkeys, parrots, and small dogs." At Rheims, "when the crown was placed on his head," says L'Estoile, "he said aloud that it hurt him, and it slipped off twice, as if it wished to fall." The people saw in this an evil omen, and they were right.

The Politiques. — Meanwhile France was suffering for

want of an honest, brave, and skilful chief, to take firm hold of the reins of government. Castelnau estimates that "during the civil wars more than a million of people had been killed, under pretext of religion or the public good." Besides the extreme Catholics and the fanatical Protestants, a third party was formed, the party of the *politiques*, composed of moderate Catholics who were desirous of re-establishing public tranquillity by means of religious toleration and stern repression of factions. The three Montmorencys, Damville, Thoré and Méru, were the most prominent men of this party, which comprised a great many magistrates and wealthy citizens. The king's brother, the Duke of Alençon, had undertaken the direction of it, more from motives of ambition than of patriotism. The Guises were at the head of the Catholics, the Bourbons at the head of the Protestants; he therefore thought it advisable to form a third party which should be devoted to his own schemes. Two things are at any rate to be set down to his credit: "he desired," he said, "to be a Frenchman in word and in deed, an enemy of Spain;" and he never stained his hands with the blood of the Huguenots.

The Alliance of the Politiques and the Huguenots; Fifth War; Le Balafré (1575-1576). — The Calvinists now had for their leaders only men like the king of Navarre, who put interest before religion; it was easy to come to terms with men whose ambition and patriotism dominated their religious fervor. Condé and Damville, the Protestants and the *politiques*, concluded an armed alliance for the purpose of obtaining the deliverance of the princes, liberty of conscience, and the assembly of the States-General.

The new king was greatly annoyed by the intrigues of his brother, and was anxious to get rid of him. Several times the Duke of Alençon was in danger of being killed; but he managed to escape and hastened to the South, where he cemented the alliance of the Protestants and the *politiques*. Damville collected fifteen thousand soldiers in Languedoc, and Condé sent from Germany an advance guard of five thousand men. The house of Lorraine pushed warlike preparations energetically, but Catherine distrusted them and negotiated in every direction. The Duke of Guise left her to her intrigues and went against the Germans, whom he defeated at Dormans. The risks he ran during this engagement, in which he was wounded in the

face, increased his popularity. Among the Catholics the talk was all of Le Balafré ("the scarred"), the worthy heir of the great Guise. But Condé, with eighteen thousand men and sixteen cannon, passed without hindrance through Champagne and Burgundy, and rejoined the Duke of Alençon at Moulins. The escape of the king of Navarre increased the hopes of the party. "They have killed the queen, my mother, at Paris," said he; "they have killed the admiral there also, and all my best friends; I will never go back there unless I am dragged back."

The Peace of Monsieur (May, 1576). — The Duke of Alençon offered himself as a mediator, and drew up at Beaulieu the peace which bears his name, the peace of Monsieur, a title formerly given to the younger brother of the king. The negotiator had Anjou ceded to him, and took its name; also Touraine and Berry, with all regal rights, on the sole condition of his doing homage. The king of Navarre obtained the government of Guienne; Condé, that of Picardy. The free exercise of their religion was granted to all Protestants throughout the kingdom except in Paris and at court, until the next convocation of the States-General, and of a *free and holy general council*. A number of places of refuge were ceded, and tribunals, half Protestant and half Catholic, were established.

The Holy League. — This peace seemed a betrayal of the Catholic cause. "What," they said, "has the king come to this after two years of rule?" He had, indeed, levied millions enough from the cities, had exacted loans enough from the clergy, and created a sufficient number of offices burdensome and injurious to the country. But everything had been consumed in festivities and in satisfying the greediness of favorites and minions. Since the court abandoned the Catholics, it became the more important that they should stand by each other.

The seigneur d'Humières, governor of Péronne, refused to yield the town to Condé, who had been appointed governor of the province, and caused the prelates, lords, and burgesses to sign "a very Christian compact, setting forth that their lives and their fortunes should be devoted to the task of keeping the city and the province in obedience to the king and in the observance of the Catholic faith." The example of D'Humières was contagious. The clergy, especially the Jesuits, influenced the masses in this direction, and soon each province had its league.

Henry of Guise was not so great a soldier as his father and was less magnanimous, but he had higher and more fixed purposes and greater skill in making use of religion as a means to his political ends. He it was who drew up and disseminated throughout all France the constitution of the Holy League; the members signing it swore "to maintain the service of God according to the forms of the Holy Catholic Church; to maintain King Henry III. in the state, splendor, authority and power which were due to him from his subjects; to restore to the provinces the rights, immunities, and liberties which they had enjoyed in the time of Clovis; to proceed against those who should persecute the League, without respect of persons; and finally, to render prompt obedience and faithful service, until death, to the chief who should be appointed."

Pretensions of Guise.—This chief was of course fixed upon in advance; but Henry of Guise looked beyond that position. Henry III., in public opinion, was already set aside. The new Duke of Anjou was decried as an accomplice of the Huguenots. Next after these there were no heirs but the heretical Bourbons. These set aside, the road lay open to the faithful allies of Philip II. and the Holy See. New genealogies even connected the house of Guise with the dynasty of Charlemagne.

The First States-General of Blois (1576).—The States-General which assembled at Blois in December, 1576, showed Henry III. the extent of the danger. By fraud and violence the League had excluded the *politiques* and the Calvinists from the elections; in the whole body of the deputies there was but one Protestant. Chosen under the influence of the Guises, the States threatened not only the liberty of the Protestants, but the authority of the king. They requested that resolutions which they should pass unanimously should have the force of laws, and that thirty-six members chosen by them should assist the royal council. The mass of the people, however, had not yet joined the League. Henry III. refused the insidious request of the States-General, but rushed with all his might into violent Catholicism. He signed the League and declared himself its chief, thinking thus to make a master-stroke and supplant the Guises.

The States, at the king's request, had decided upon the suppression of the reformed religion. To vote was easy,

but the vote led to war; and to make war, money was needed. The king received neither subsidies nor even the right to alienate portions of the royal domains in order to provide for expenses.

Sixth War (1577); Ordinance of Blois (1579).—The peace promised to the Huguenots had not been kept; a petty warfare had been carried on. Henry III. would not employ the Duke of Guise, for fear of increasing it. He took advantage of some small victories to conclude the peace of Bergerac with the Huguenots. This peace granted to the Protestants a liberty of conscience more extended and less specific than that allowed by former edicts, special judges in the eight Parliaments, eight places of refuge, and decreed the dissolution of all leagues. The king hoped thus to get the advantage of the League, while seeming to be merely securing himself against the Huguenots.

Strange as it may seem, important legislative reforms were carried out in these wretched times. The ordinance of Blois comprises in its three hundred and sixty-three articles some excellent and liberal provisions for civil reform, but they give evidence of the power which Catholicism, strengthened by danger, had acquired within the last few years. The king reserved the power to make direct appointments to all prelacies and benefices, observing certain conditions of age, good behavior, and intelligence. Plurality of archbishoprics or parochial curacies was forbidden. Residence became obligatory; simony was to be put down. Marriage, which could be legalized only by a priest, was surrounded by more rigid precautions; and some good measures were taken against the usurpation of titles of nobility, venality and excessive multiplication of offices, and dishonesty in judicial matters.

The Court of Henry III.—But the conduct of the king was such as to spoil the best of measures. Unsparring pamphlets disclosed the baseness of the licentious and ruffianly court of the last of the Valois, in which murders alternated with pleasures. In the evening there were balls and festivals; in the morning murderous encounters, when the duel had not been forestalled by secret assassination. Each prince had his hired assassins who killed secretly, and his favorites who murdered openly. In order to defray increasing expenses, the taxation was increased each year; edicts were constantly sent to Parliament directing extra

taxes, which were registered only after a long resistance. The discontent became general. The states of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, and Auvergne protested. A short war, (the seventh), which broke out without cause and ended without reason, showed the progress of disorganization. The peace of Bergerac was re-established at Fleix (1580).

Expedition of the Duke of Anjou into the Netherlands (1581-1583). — It had become necessary to launch these turbulent spirits upon some serious undertaking; in fact, to revive the project of Coligny, and make foreign war in order to escape civil war. France could choose between two battle-fields. Philip was invading Portugal; the Low Countries were being continually overrun by the Spaniards, and several provinces were calling for a liberator. Henry sent a fleet to assist Portugal, and an army to aid his brother, the Duke of Anjou, whom the Flemings had called to their aid; but both fleet and re-enforcements were insufficient, and officially he disowned the enterprises. The fleet was entirely destroyed; the Duke of Anjou, after having been proclaimed Duke of Brabant and Count of Flanders, was left without money, and forced to evacuate the country, and died a few months after his return to France (1584). The Netherlands at the same time lost William of Orange, assassinated by an emissary of Spain. They then offered themselves to Henry III., on condition that he should deliver them from the Inquisition and from Philip II. But it was too late.

Revival of the League. — The death of the Duke of Anjou, the brother and heir of Henry III., raised a question certain to rekindle all the religious and political passions of the French. The danger that a Bourbon, a relapsed heretic, should become the heir of the Valois, was now real; for Henry III., the last surviving son of Henry II., had no issue, and it was thought that he had only a few years to live. The League had for some time been in a state of confusion; suddenly it revived, and spread itself among the masses; instead of a secret society there now arose a great revolutionary party. The authors of this movement were mostly the preachers in the churches of Paris. The League spread from thence to the provinces, and established, especially where it was strongest, a reign of terror.

Treaty of Joinville, between the Duke of Guise and Spain (1584). — Henry of Guise saw clearly that the moment had

come to strike a great blow, and without hesitating he concluded with Philip II. the treaty of Joinville (December, 1584), by which the contracting parties engaged to extirpate sects and heresies; to exclude from the throne of France all princes who were themselves heretical or promised public impunity to heretics; and to assure the succession of the Valois to Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, who was brought forward to hide, for the time, the pretensions of the Guises. The Guises received from Pope Gregory XIII. complete liberty of action in the matter. The manifesto of the League appeared in March, 1585. The signers swore not to lay down their arms until "the church of God was re-established in the true Catholic faith, the nobility reinstated in their rights, and the people relieved from the new taxations." It was soon put into execution. Guise, Mayenne, Elbœuf, Mercœur, and Aumale raised revolt in the provinces. The cities of Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, Rouen, Angers, Rheims, and Châlons declared in favor of the League.

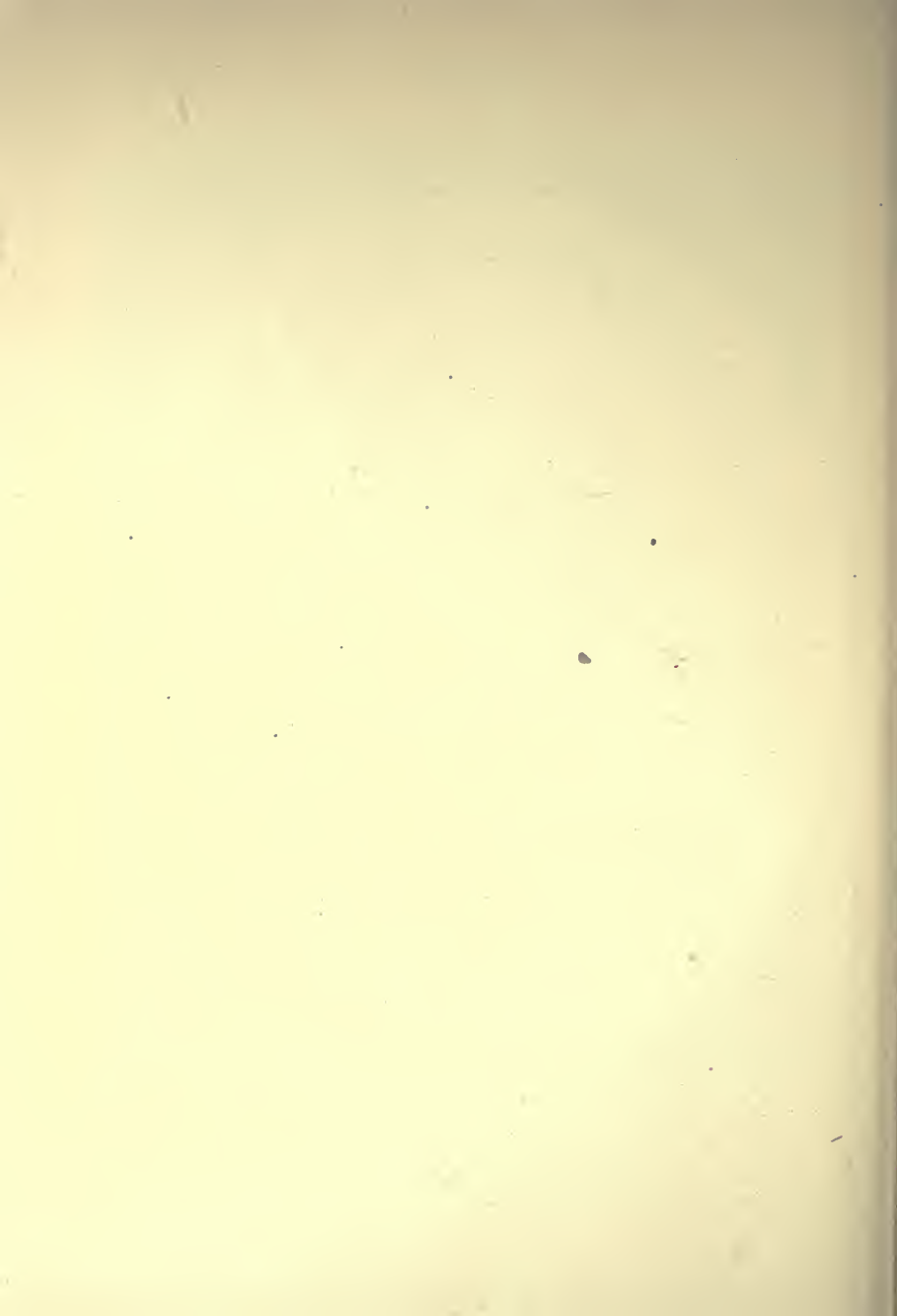
Treaty of Nemours, between the King and the Duke of Guise (1585).—The position of Henry III. became very difficult. He was disposed to declare against the Guises, whom he detested; but he demanded that "the Béarnais" should become a Catholic, promising on this condition to make him his heir. Henry refused. He replied to the manifesto of the League by appearing against the conspirators in the role of champion of the king and the laws of the state; this was a good move: he thus regained the alliance of the *politiques*. Montmorency, "the king of Languedoc," joined forces with him.

Henry III. found himself between two enemies whom he had long wished to see destroying each other, — Guise and Bourbon, the Catholics and the Protestants. Not all the great cities were in the League, and there was a remnant of prestige attaching to the name of king. But Paris was beginning to arouse; Guise was coming with twelve thousand men; a defeat would ruin everything. Henry turned to the Lorraines, hoping to deceive them again. At the treaty of Nemours (July 7th) he sanctioned all that had been done for religion, delivered to the chief of the League nine places of refuge, and, on returning to Paris, published an edict which forbade the reformed worship under pain of confiscation, and gave ministers and other Protestants a fortnight in which to leave the kingdom. War against the



DUPLESSIS-MORNAY.

From a print in the National Library.



Huguenots was urgently desired. The Pope used all his power to instigate it. There was no longer any place for men of the moderate party.

Henry of Navarre. — Meanwhile the prince who was to become their chief, the king of Navarre, was learning to face dangers of every sort. Henry of Navarre was a man of the most brilliant courage. Reared among the mountaineers of the Pyrenees, he equalled them in agility and was inured to physical fatigue. The vicissitudes through which he had passed had greatly unsettled him in matters of religion; consequently he cherished no ill-feeling against those who professed a different faith. His nature made fanaticism odious to him, and his position demanded that he should be tolerant. He was a genial companion, wearing the same face in good or ill fortune, hopeful even under the most desperate circumstances; fond of pleasure; humane, both from natural kindliness and from experience of life; and had friends, who gained from his friendship more kind words than valuable gifts, to be sure, but to whom his heart was open if his hand was, of necessity, closed. His enforced residence at the court of the Valois had been fatal to his morals. For several years he ceased to think of his career and his fortune. After the death of the Duke of Anjou, Duplessis-Mornay wrote to him: "Pastimes are out of season. It is time that you should make love to France." Henry realized the fact: he cast pleasure aside and put on his armor.

Every one attacked him, and to each and all he made the same reply. Duplessis-Mornay, the Pope of the Huguenots, as he was called, drew up a declaration by which the king of Navarre and his allies were to "undertake the cause of the king against the chiefs of the League, the authors of all the ills of France." Condé, Damville, Lesdiguières, and himself held all the South. The queen of England and the German princes, being earnestly solicited, also promised prompt assistance.

Anarchy of the Kingdom. — The king would willingly have continued his see-saw policy between the two parties. But the horizon was darkening all around; the Prince of Orange had been assassinated, Mary Stuart beheaded. At Paris the chiefs of the sixteen sections formed themselves into a council in the heart of the League for the purpose of giving it greater energy.

In the provinces anarchy prevailed; under pretext of re-establishing unity of religion both Leaguers and Huguenots were sacrificing the unity of the State. Each governor entrenched himself in his province; feudalism arose from the tomb in which ten kings had buried it. The cities on their part demanded again their old privileges; the municipal magistrates seized upon the military authority which they had lost during the fifteenth century, and the civil jurisdiction which L'Hôpital had just taken from them. They no longer recognized any limit to their criminal jurisdiction, nor any superior control of their financial management. Thus efforts to revive the mediæval communes followed upon efforts to revive feudalism. Francis I. had almost believed that royalty was everything; it now seemed likely to be reduced to nothing.

Eighth War, or War of the Three Henrys (1586–1589); Battle of Coutras (1587). — In 1587 the aid promised by the allies of the two parties arrived. Henry III. placed himself at the head of a fine army which was to hold the Loire, sent Joyeuse, well equipped, against the king of Navarre in Guienne, and gave a few men to the Duke of Guise to hold back the Germans. He sincerely hoped that Navarre would be beaten by Joyeuse, Guise by the Germans; this done, he himself, from his central position, would crush out all that remained of these three armies of foreigners, Calvinists and Catholics.

Henry of Navarre, unable to join his German auxiliaries, drew Joyeuse south, into the midst of the Huguenot country. The two armies met at Coutras. When the Huguenots came in sight of the enemy, the ministers raised the one hundred and forty-seventh Psalm, and at the same time all the army fell upon their knees. "Cousins," cried the king of Navarre to Condé and to Soissons, "I have only to remind you that you are of the blood of the Bourbons, and as God lives I will show you that I am your elder." In one hour every man of the royal army was either slain or flying. Joyeuse was about to surrender his sword to two Huguenots, when a third shot him through the head with a pistol (October, 1587). The victory had only a moral effect. Henry lost time by going to lay at the feet of the Countess of Grammont the flags taken from the enemy. Meantime the Duke of Guise, north of the Loire, triumphed over the Germans under the Baron of Dohna at Vimory, near Mor turgis, and again near

Auneau (1587). Henry III. was unskilful enough to leave to his rival the glory of driving them out of the country.

The Day of Barricades. — Henry III. re-entered Paris. As he passed along, the populace cried out, "Saul has killed his thousands, and David his ten thousands"; and a few days after, the Sorbonne decided that "the government could be taken out of the hands of princes who were found incapable." Henry III., alarmed, forbade the Duke of Guise to come to Paris, and quartered in the faubourgs four thousand Swiss and several companies of the guards. The Sixteen feared that all was over; they summoned the *Balafré* and he came (May 9th).

Cries of "Hosannah to the Son of David!" resounded throughout Paris, and followed him to the Louvre. The king was pale with anger when he received him, and said, "I sent you word not to come here"; and in spite of the duke's excuses he would perhaps have had him assassinated if his mother and his counsellors had not turned him from his purpose. The king and the chief of the League fortified themselves, one in the Louvre, the other in the Hôtel Guise. Negotiations were carried on for two days. On the morning of the eleventh the duke, well attended, returned to the Louvre, and in loud tones demanded of the king that he should send away his counsellors, establish the Inquisition, and push to the utmost the war against the heretics. That evening the king ordered the companies of the city guards to hold several positions, and the next morning he introduced into the city the Swiss and two thousand men of the French guards. But the city guards failed him. In two hours all Paris was under arms, all the streets were rendered impassable, and the advancing barricades soon reached the positions occupied by the troops.

At this juncture Guise came out of his hôtel, dressed in a white doublet, with a small cane in his hand; saved the Swiss, who were on the point of being massacred, sent them back to the king with insulting scorn, and quieted everything as if by magic. He demanded the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom for himself, the convocation of the States at Paris, the forfeiture of the Bourbons, and, for his friends, provincial governments and all the other offices.

The queen-mother debated these conditions for three hours. During this time the attack was suspended, and Henry III. was thus enabled to leave the Louvre and make his escape.

Second States of Blois (1588). — The Duke of Guise had made a mistake; but if he did not have the king, he had Paris. There was now a king of Paris and a king of France; negotiations were carried on, and to the astonishment of all, Henry III. at length granted what two months before he had refused in front of the barricades. He swore that he would not lay down his arms until the heretics were entirely exterminated; declared that any non-Catholic prince forfeited his rights to the throne, appointed the Duke of Guise lieutenant-general, and convoked the States at Blois.

The States of Blois were composed entirely of Leaguers. The most violent enemies of the king were appointed presidents of the three orders. The king, in an able and elegant address, complained of "the inordinate ambition of some of his subjects." This was somewhat bold; the clergy insisted that the phrase should be suppressed in the printed copy. Then for some time there was a discussion as to whether the States should proceed "by resolution or by petitions addressed to the king, the latter being only the president of the States, in which all power was vested." This question being settled, it was demanded that the *tailles* should be lowered, and that the courtiers should be compelled to disgorge. The most enthusiastic of the Leaguers spoke of making Guise constable, and shutting the king up in a convent if he opposed it. The Duchess of Montpensier showed, hanging at her girdle, a pair of golden scissors with which she proposed "to bestow on Henry the monastic crown."

Assassination of the Duke of Guise (1588). — The Invincible Armada having been destroyed, the ally of Philip II. could be safely attacked. Some wished to defy the Duke of Guise. "They would not dare to do it," said he. But the king dared. "I have been a long time under the tutelage of the lords of Guise," said he, "and I am determined to be rid of them entirely; he who has a partner, has a master." He decided that if no one could be found who would slay the duke, he would do the deed himself; the day fixed for the assassination was the 23d of December.

On the 22d the Duke of Guise was urged to withdraw from Blois. He replied, "My affairs are in such a position that if I should see death entering by the window, I would not go out of the door to escape him." The king had informed him that he would hold a privy council at six

o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock the king called the Forty-five (his body-guard), reminded them of their obligations to him, exposed the designs of Guise, and called on them to avenge him. They all declared their readiness to kill the rebel. The king himself distributed daggers among them, and stationed them in his cabinet, in his chamber, and on the stairway. He caused a mass to be celebrated by one of his chaplains, "to the end that God might grant him grace to execute his undertaking."

On his way to the council the duke received another note warning him of his fate. "It is the ninth," said he. Passing from the council-chamber to that of the prince, he saluted the gentlemen present, and advanced to the door of the cabinet in which he supposed Henry to be. Just as the duke drew aside the portière, one of the Forty-five seized him by the arm and plunged a dagger into his breast, crying out, "Traitor, thou shalt die!" Though attacked on all sides, the duke dragged his murderers, who held him by the arms, from one end of the room to the other, even to the foot of the king's bed, and there fell dead. Hearing the noise, the cardinal of Guise exclaimed, "They are killing my brother." "The king has business to settle with you, my lord," replied the Marshal d'Aumont, "do not stir;" and the cardinal was carried off to prison. The next day he was killed, and the two bodies were burned, in order that their bones should not be made up into relics. The murder accomplished, the king came out of his cabinet to see if his enemy was really dead, and looked at him for a long time; then he hastened to Catherine de' Medici, who was dying, and said, "I am once more king of France, madam, having killed the king of Paris." "Cutting is not everything, my son," she replied; "there's sewing yet to be done."

Assassination of Henry III. (1589). — Killing the Duke of Guise was not killing the League. At the news of his death Paris was stunned for a moment; then its fury broke out. All the churches resounded with imprecations against the king, and lamentations over the "two martyred brothers." Night and day processions filed through the capital. The Sixteen forced the city council to give the command of Paris to the Duke of Aumale while awaiting the arrival of Mayenne. The Sorbonne decreed "that the French people were set free from the oath of allegiance taken to Henry III," Parliament remaining firm in its fidelity to the mon-

archy, fifty of its members, including President de Harlay, were arrested.

Henry III. had gained nothing by the murder; a few thousand nobles gathered round him could not give him strength to act, and the excommunication issued against him for the murder of a cardinal was embarrassing even to his friends. He had effected nothing for his own cause by the deed done at Blois, but he had helped the fortunes of the king of Navarre, into whose arms he was forced to cast himself. Before the time of this last tragedy, the king of Navarre had been greatly embarrassed. "The devil is let loose," he wrote, "and it is marvellous that I am not overcome by his power. I cannot fail to be soon either a fool or a wise man. This year will be my turning-point." And it was so. That time of trial made him the man who knew so well how to conduct his own fortunes and those of France through all dangers. Henry III. received "the Béarnais" at Plessis-les-Tours; he cast himself at the feet of the king, who raised him, and called him his brother.

The junction of the Protestant and the royal armies under the same standard completely changed the nature of the war. It was no longer feudal Protestantism, but the democratic League, which threatened royalty; monarchy entered into a struggle with the Catholic masses in revolt against it. Henry III. called together, at Tours, his useless Parliament, and issued a manifesto against Mayenne and the chiefs of the League. Henry of Navarre carried on the war energetically. In two months he was master of the territory between the Loire and the Seine, and fifteen thousand Swiss and lanzknechts joined him. On the evening of July 30th, 1589, the two kings, with forty thousand men, appeared before Paris. The Parisians could see the long line of the enemies' fires gleaming in a vast semicircle on the left bank of the Seine. The king of Navarre established his headquarters at Meudon; Henry III., at Saint-Cloud. The great city was astounded; the people had lost energy; but the fury was concentrated in the hearts of the chiefs and in the depths of the cloisters. The Duchess of Montpensier neglected nothing that would increase the frenzy of the preachers. The arm of a fanatic became the instrument of the general fury, and put into practice the doctrine of tyrannicide more than once asserted in the schools and the pulpit.

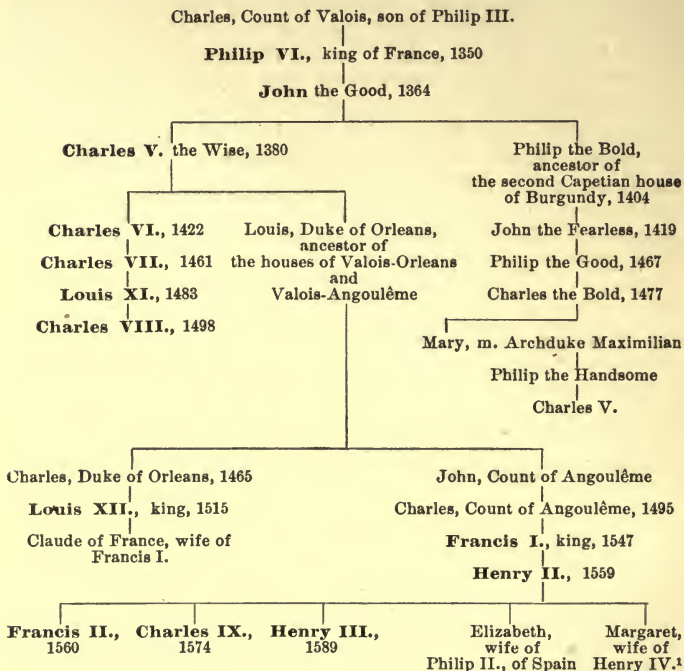
The assault was to be made on August 2d. On the morn-

ing of the previous day a young friar from the convent of the Dominicans, Jacques Clément, came out from Paris and took the road to Saint-Cloud. He had prepared himself by fasting and the sacraments, and was furnished with a counterfeit letter for Henry III., and full directions. Conducted into the king's presence, he declared that he had "secret matters of great importance to communicate." The guards withdrew; as the king approached him, the assassin drew a knife from his sleeve and plunged it into the king's abdomen. "The wicked monk!" cried the king; "he has killed me!" He drew the knife from the wound with his own hands and struck his murderer in the face. The guards, hearing the noise, hastened in and killed the assassin on the spot. Henry of Navarre hastened to the king, who urged upon him the expediency of his becoming a Catholic, and caused those present to swear allegiance to him as his successor. He died the same night, and with him the race of Valois became extinct.

The aged Catherine de' Medici had died six months before, filled with despair, not even having the consolation of knowing that her wicked life had served to advance her own children. After thirty years of toil and intrigues and crimes in the vain effort to secure power to her sons, she saw the last scion of her race threatened with destruction, the kingdom torn to pieces, the crown dishonored, and either the League or the Huguenots certain to triumph.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CAPETIAN HOUSE OF VALOIS.

(The date which follows each name is the date of death.)



¹ Beatrice of Bourbon married, in 1272, Robert, Count of Clermont, sixth son of Saint Louis. Their descendants founded the ducal branch of *Bourbon*, which became extinct in 1503; and the junior branches of *La Marche*, extinguished in 1438; of *Montpensier*, in 1527; and of *Vendôme*, which continued till Henry IV., and was then divided into two branches,—that of *Bourbon-Vendôme*, which acquired the kingdom of Navarre by the marriage of Antoine, and that of the princes of La Roche-sur-Yon, dukes of Montpensier, extinct in 1608; and finally, that of *Bourbon-Condé*, founded by Louis, uncle of Henry IV., and chief of the Calvinist party. The great Condé was his great-grandson.

CHAPTER XLVI.

REIGN OF HENRY IV.

(1589-1598 A.D.)

Henry IV. ; his First Difficulties. — The assassination of the Valois brought grief and trouble into the camp of Saint-Cloud, and joy and confidence into Paris, where bonfires were lighted and the “martyrdom of the blessed Jacques Clément” was eulogized from the pulpits: he was even invoked as a saint.

“You are the king of the brave,” said one of the Catholic lords to Henry, “and will be abandoned only by cowards.” But in spite of this loyal speech, many Catholics withdrew; in order to secure others, Henry solemnly promised, in an assembly of the principal lords, to sustain the Catholic religion in his kingdom until the meeting of a national or general council which should regulate the religious question, to insure to every one his rights and offices, and to guarantee to the Calvinists liberty of worship in one town in each bailliage. The assembly then acknowledged him as king of France, under the title of Henry IV.

The Leaguers hesitated between the young Duke of Guise and his uncle, the Duke of Mayenne. The former was a prisoner in the hands of the royalists; the latter, though a shrewd politician, was wanting in all those characteristics which go to make a popular chief, — daring, brilliancy, indefatigable activity, and prompt decision. There were other claimants of the throne, — the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Savoy, and the king of Spain. Mayenne might have taken fortune by the horns, but he dared not do it, and so caused the cardinal of Bourbon to be proclaimed king under the title of Charles X., contenting himself with the office of lieutenant-general; thus unwisely recognizing the right of the house of Bourbon.

But Henry IV.’s declaration had not satisfied every one in the royal army. D’Épernon and several Catholic lords retired; La Trémouille, with nine Protestant battalions, set

out for the South, unwilling "to serve under the banner of a sovereign who undertook to protect idolatry." The besieging army was reduced by one-half. Several of his friends counselled the king to return to the South; but Henry decided to remain in the North, and this resolution saved his crown.

Division of France.— France, and indeed almost every province of France, was divided, — one city being for the League and another for the king. One sixth part of France was on the side of the king; the rest was not entirely on the side of the League. Several cities and provinces remained neutral; a few governors or powerful nobles awaited the course of events.

Campaign of Henry IV. in Normandy; Battle of Arques (1589).— The true king would be made known by his deeds. Henry IV. sent Longueville into Picardy, D'Aumont into Champagne, to raise troops and money, and went himself into Normandy. An attack upon Rouen was a failure; but Henry, turning suddenly to Dieppe, was received there with open arms. This was a precious acquisition, for it gave him communication with England. The great Queen Elizabeth saw plainly that the king of Navarre was fighting for her as well as for himself.

At Paris the people were beginning to complain of the slowness of Mayenne. He finally decided to leave the city with twenty-five thousand men, recruited eight thousand on the way, and marched towards Dieppe, promising to bring "the Béarnais" back a captive or throw him into the sea. Henry, who had less than ten thousand men, entrenched himself strongly around Dieppe, having his camp on the heights of Arques.

For three whole weeks the great army of Mayenne made constant attacks upon these well-chosen positions; but Henry and his valiant troops repulsed them everywhere. Mayenne then turned the royal camp and appeared upon the west side of Dieppe. But Henry suspected his intentions and forestalled him. He had received from England twelve thousand men, provisions, and the promise of an additional re-enforcement of four thousand men. Longueville, La Noue, and D'Aumont came to his assistance with another army. Mayenne retired to the Somme, calling to his aid the Spaniards in the Netherlands.

Attempt to surprise Paris; Successes of the King (1589).

— Henry, in turn, now found himself at the head of twenty-five thousand men. He gained three days' march upon Mayenne and moved rapidly upon Paris. Under cover of a thick fog all the outskirts on the left bank were taken, the royalists entering with the cry of "Saint-Bartholomew." The movement nearly succeeded; but hearing of the arrival of Mayenne, Henry contented himself with pillaging the outskirts, thinking to satisfy the soldiers with this in place of the pay which he had not been able to give them, and then took the road to Tours, the capital of the royalist party.

On the way he captured various towns, and induced others to recognize him. In a few weeks the whole of Normandy was subjugated. The news of his success attracted the neutrals. Among foreign states the republic of Venice recognized him as the legitimate king; even Sixtus V. began to waver.

Dissensions in the Party of the League. — The rival ambitions of the enemies of Henry IV. helped his cause. The dukes of Lorraine and Savoy endeavored to dismember the kingdom. The dukes of Mercœur, Nevers, and Nemours sought to obtain independent principalities. Philip II. demanded the title of protector of the kingdom in the name of his daughter. The Sixteen dreamed of a state without king and without nobles, a sort of theocratic republic. Mayenne also had his secret hopes.

Battle of Ivry (1590). — The king besieged Dreux. Mayenne, in order to save the city, gave battle in the plain of Saint-André, near Ivry (March 14th). The Leaguers had fifteen or sixteen thousand men, of whom four thousand were cavalry; the royalists had eight thousand infantry and three thousand horsemen armed only with swords and pistols. "My friends," cried Henry, "keep your ranks in good order; if you lose your ensigns, cornets, or guides, the white plume that you see on my helmet will lead you always on the road to honor and glory."

The king charged the French and Walloon lancers; he passed with his men under their long, heavy lances, fought them furiously hand to hand, cut and thrust, and put them to flight. At the end of two hours the whole army of the League was flying. The victory won, Henry remembered that he was king; "Quarter for the French," he cried; "death to the foreigners." The road to Paris was now open to them, and Henry led them thither.

Siege of Paris (1590). — There was but little ammunition in the city and great scarcity of provisions, and the walls were in bad condition. The Parisians made up for these deficiencies by their religious enthusiasm. The papal legate, Cajetano, issued, through the Sorbonne, a decree declaring any one who should speak of treating with the Bourbon guilty of deadly sin, and promising to his enemies the martyr's palm. Thirty thousand men enlisted; the bells were melted down to make cannon; a brother of Mayenne, the young Duke of Nemours, directed the defence. Henry IV. scarcely hoped to carry by assault a city thus defended, but he counted upon famine, and cut off all means of communication, expecting thus to reduce the Parisians. They endured the sufferings of famine with the same courage with which they had encountered the war. The death of the old cardinal of Bourbon simplified the question (May, 1590), but increased the hatred of the Leaguers. The king made an assault July 24th; at the end of two hours the faubourgs were taken.

The distress was now at its height. All the horses, asses, and mules that still survived were killed. Everything that had life, even unclean animals, were hunted down and devoured. Some powdered the bones of the dead and made of them a sort of paste, but died from eating this dreadful food. The soldiers began to steal children, and one mother devoured her own infant.

Intervention of the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards (1590); of the English and Germans (1591). — Fearing lest he should lose the Netherlands, then greatly disturbed by the exploits of Maurice of Nassau, Philip II. had deferred till the last moment sending his best general to aid the Parisians. But now the Duke of Parma advanced, and reached Meaux in August, at a most opportune moment, for the siege had lasted four months. The king went out to meet the Spaniards. Parma, the skilful tactician, skirmished with the French, thus occupying them for four days, and on the fifth, under cover of a thick fog, he surprised Lagny, which commanded the arrival of supplies to Paris by way of the Marne, and from that town he sent a large flotilla of boats to reprovision the city. All the efforts of a laborious siege had now been wasted. During the winter the Viscount of Turenne, one of the wisest of the king's party, obtained seven hundred Englishmen from Elizabeth, two thousand

Hollanders from Maurice, and raised in Germany four thousand horse, and eight thousand infantry, whom he brought away with him. Henry IV. had just captured Chartres, the granary of Paris. As nineteen of the bishops of France had acknowledged him, Henry held in this city a national council which declared null and void the excommunications recently issued against him by Pope Gregory XIV. It was useless to dream of taking Paris, now garrisoned by four thousand Spaniards; but Henry, in order to lay siege to the capital from a distance, and cut off its communications with Normandy, appeared suddenly before Rouen (November, 1591).

Siege of Rouen (1591-1592).—The League here was very strong, and the defence was under the command of Villars-Brancas, governor of Normandy, a man of much energy and enterprise. The Duke of Parma came again from the Netherlands to save the city (March, 1592). Henry left Biron with his infantry to continue the siege, and at the head of his cavalry, composed of seven thousand brave and active men, went to meet the enemy, whom he engaged successfully at Aumale. Meanwhile Biron was forced to raise the siege of Rouen (April). The Duke of Parma entered the town and secured the passage of the Seine, but received a wound which, from the bad condition of his health, proved fatal. While he was disabled, Henry IV. attacked his army at Yvetot, killed three thousand of his men, and shut him up in a position which seemed desperate, between the Seine and the sea. Parma, however, extricated himself from the trap, and regained the Netherlands without molestation, but died at Arras in December. Twice had this great warrior snatched victory from the king's hands; but happily the League was itself working for Henry IV.

Mayenne and the Sixteen.—A secret struggle had been going on for some time between Mayenne and the Sixteen; that is, between the aristocratic faction and the democratic faction of the League; between the French party and the Spanish party. Mayenne's reverses and the first successes of the Duke of Parma placed power in the hands of the Sixteen. The young Duke of Guise escaped from Tours and hastened to Paris, full of enthusiasm and hatred against the king. The Sixteen believed they had found in him the chief who would suit them.

During the last operations around Rouen the preaching at Paris took a very savage turn. Some said openly that assassination should be resorted to; others demanded a new massacre, this time of the *politiques*. President Brisson and two counsellors of the Parliament were seized and executed; their death was the signal for the murder of a number of suspected persons. The aim of the conspiracy was to assure to themselves the control of the States, which were about to assemble, then to cause them to elect a Catholic king, pledged to establish the Inquisition in France, to respect the restored rights of the clergy and the communes, and to submit to the resolutions passed by the States, henceforth to be assembled every five years. Their purpose was, in a word, as far as religion was concerned, to introduce into France the system which had been so fatal in Italy and Spain; and with regard to politics, to destroy the great work of national unity, which had been going on for nearly three centuries.

On his return to Paris, Mayenne caused four of the Sixteen to be seized and beheaded, broke up their council, and conferred the municipal functions upon declared *politiques* (February, 1592). The Leaguers were filled with consternation. Mayenne had thus rendered a conspicuous service to France though not to himself.

States-General of the League (1593); Philip II.; the Satire Ménippée. — It was evident to all that war was affording no solution of the question. France might be engulfed in it, but one party would not destroy the other. The idea of a compromise now suggested itself to many minds. Each faction had, till now, repulsed the idea of convoking the States-General, counting on its own strength and fearing to stake its fortunes upon the votes of an assembly. But now their name was on many lips, and a great number demanded that the nation should be allowed to speak for itself.

The States finally assembled at Paris, January 15th, 1593. Only about a hundred and thirty deputies appeared, mostly of the Third Estate. The king of Spain spared no expense. If the Spanish historians have computed correctly, his designs upon France cost him 30,000,000 ducats (about \$100,000,000). Henry had expended only heroism, — enough, indeed, to have gained a kingdom, — but the faith he professed was an insurmountable obstacle; the chief of the Protestants could not be king of the Catholics. The

ties which bound Henry to Calvinism had never been very strong, and he now determined to break them in order to put an end to this atrocious and otherwise interminable war. Mayenne had but little to offer; he did not despair of succeeding, however, by playing off the foreigner and the heretic against each other. The king assembled at Mantes, May 18th, several prelates and doctors, both from the royal party and from that of the League, for the purpose of "discussing the differences, on account of which the schism had arisen in the Church." The Spanish ambassador was desirous of bringing matters to a head before the assembly of Mantes could make any compromise. On the 28th of May he made a formal proposition to the States to elect as their queen Isabella-Clara-Eugenia, daughter of Philip II., and granddaughter, on her mother's side, of King Henry II. of France. "To set aside the Salic law," cried a Leaguer, "is to destroy the kingdom." Mayenne demanded two days for deliberation. When the time had expired, they were no nearer a conclusion than before. During the first general session the ambassador was asked whom the king had chosen as a husband for his daughter. "The archduke Ernest of Austria," he replied. There was a general burst of dissatisfaction. It appeared that France must be given to a foreign prince and a foreign princess; and it was that very house of Austria against which the kings of France had fought for fifty years that the League now proposed to install in the Louvre.

A remarkable pamphlet, the *Satire Ménippée* (1594), the work of some Parisian citizen, finally overwhelmed the League with ridicule. The *Catholicon d'Espagne*, the first part of the satire, exposed the ambition which Philip concealed under the mask of championship of Catholicism; in the *Abrégé des états de la Ligue*, each of the prominent persons who had played a part in the League was made to display his pitiful ambitions and shameful avarice. And finally, a deputy of the Third Estate pointed out to each one the moral of the pamphlet,—the degradation of Paris and of France under foreign domination.

Reason began at last to rise above these waves of half-appeased passions. While the States continued the long debates which ill concealed their indecision, some of the magistrates of the Parliament took courage. On the proposition of one of them Parliament rendered a decree by which

it ordered that "remonstrances should be made to the lieutenant-general to the effect that no treaty should be made for the purpose of transferring the crown to any foreign prince" (June 28). This was the first act of good sense and patriotism which had been done for a long time: Henry IV. did the second.

Conversion of the King (1593); Entrance of Henry IV. into Paris (1594).—Though it cost the son of Jeanne d'Albret, the pupil of Coligny, a struggle to break with the Huguenots, he followed the advice of his wisest counsellors, and after a discussion of some hours with the Catholic doctors assembled at Mantes, he declared himself convinced. And it was true: not that he had thoroughly discussed dogmas, — that was not the point with him, — but he had pondered well the ills of France. The next day he bade a tearful farewell to the ministers of the religion which he abandoned, and with a large escort took the road to the church of Saint-Denis.

Having arrived at the door of the basilica, he knelt and made his confession of faith. "I swear," said he, "before Almighty God, to live and die in the faith of the Catholic religion; to protect and defend it against all persons, at the peril of my life, renouncing all heresies contrary thereto."

A few preachers of the League vainly attempted to present this as an act of hypocrisy. The greater part regarded the conversion as the pledge of a patriotic reconciliation. The States declared that they had no power to regulate the succession to the throne, and broke up in the midst of general indifference. In the provinces the reaction was more pronounced. The coronation, which took place in the cathedral of Chartres (February 27th, 1594), increased this feeling. Henry helped on the result by wise negotiations. Thus he bought Paris from Brissac, repaying him with a marshal's baton, the governments of Mantes and Corbeil, and two hundred thousand crowns.

Brissac carried out his bargain. On the morning of March 21st four thousand picked men presented themselves at the gates. Unopposed and in good order they passed on to the centre of Paris and quietly occupied the principal positions. At first the people seemed stunned; but when the king appeared, escorted by Brissac and the provost of the merchants, cries of "Hurrah for peace! long live the king!" saluted him. When the Spanish garrison of three

thousand men realized that the king was in the Louvre, and the whole city quiet and contented, they submitted to march out with the honors of war. "Gentlemen," said Henry, with his habitual irony, "commend me to your master, and never come back."

Submission of the Leaguers.—The king had possession of the capital, where the Sorbonne, reconstructed, acknowledged him as the true and lawful king: but he did not have the whole of France; the Spaniards were still within its borders, and the chief Leaguers reckoned on coming out of this long contest with well-filled hands.

Henry marched first against the Spaniards and the Lorrainers, strongly entrenched in a few positions on the northern frontier, particularly at Laon. One of his most devoted followers, whose importance was increasing daily, Maximilian de Béthune, Baron of Rosny, afterwards Duke of Sully, was entrusted with the drawing up of the treaties. Biron, the son of the late marshal, captured Laon. The constant besieging of the Leaguers through the promises and money of Sully had still more prompt results. Villars-Brancas, Guise, and the Duke of Lorraine surrendered in consideration of important offices and enormous pensions.

War with Spain; Battle of Fontaine-Française (1595).—Spain alone kept up the resistance of the remaining Leaguers, and delayed the grant of papal absolution which was still necessary to Henry IV. A Jesuit, named Jean Chatel, having tried to assassinate the king, the Jesuits were banished from the kingdom, January, 1595. In the same month Henry solemnly declared war against Philip II. Philip ordered the governor of the Milanese to march into Franche-Comté, and Fuentes, governor of the Netherlands, to enter Picardy. Henry IV. hastened to meet the former and renewed in Burgundy his deeds of rash heroism. Surprised with Marshal Biron near Fontaine-Française by the enemy's army, he ten times risked his own life, but succeeded in frustrating the attempts of the Spaniards. Meantime Fuentes arrived upon the Somme and captured several towns.

The Absolution of the King (September, 1595).—The absolution so long demanded of the Pope by Henry IV. happily made amends for these reverses. Philip threatened in vain. The king's two ambassadors having abjured heresy in the name of Henry, and promised the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent, with the exception of those which

might excite trouble, the Pope pronounced formal absolution, amid the acclamations of the people. The king, moreover, henceforth fulfilled entirely and minutely the duties of a good Catholic.

Submission of Mayenne, Épernon and Joyeuse (1596). — Mayenne regarded this event as the signal for his surrender. He gave up his remaining strongholds and received in exchange the government of Burgundy, three cities as guarantees, and three hundred and thirty-five thousand crowns. Thenceforth he served the king faithfully, as did also his nephew, the Duke of Guise; Épernon and Joyeuse also made terms. The king refused nothing, being sure of regaining all some day, when he should have reduced to order the chaos bequeathed him by the League.

Assembly of Notables at Rouen (1596). — The first necessity was to raise money. Henry, for this purpose, called an assembly of notables at Rouen, and said to them with that unceremonious good-nature which concealed great tact, and which won for him all hearts: "If I wished to gain the title of orator, I should have learned some long and graceful speech, and delivered it to you with great gravity; but, gentlemen, I desire a more glorious title, that of liberator and restorer of the State. . . . I have not called you together, as my predecessors have done, to force you to approve my wishes; I have assembled you that I may receive your counsels, trust in them, and be guided by them; in short, with the desire to place myself under your tutelage, a desire which seldom comes to kings, greybeards, and victorious warriors. But the great love I bear my subjects, and the desire I have to add these two great titles to that of king, make all this seem easy and honorable for me."

Henry had no desire to be taken at his word. He placed as high an estimate upon his kingly power as any king of his time. Under the accumulated ruins of so many wars Henry IV. found and resumed, without fresh effort, the absolute authority of Francis I.; for neither the sacerdotal democracy of the League nor the selfish feudalism of the nobility had done anything to establish true and permanent liberties. The assembly of Rouen was useless; impracticable plans were proposed, and Henry was consequently the more at liberty to execute his own. He had something better than the good counsel that the notables gave him, and this was Sully, the personified genius of order.

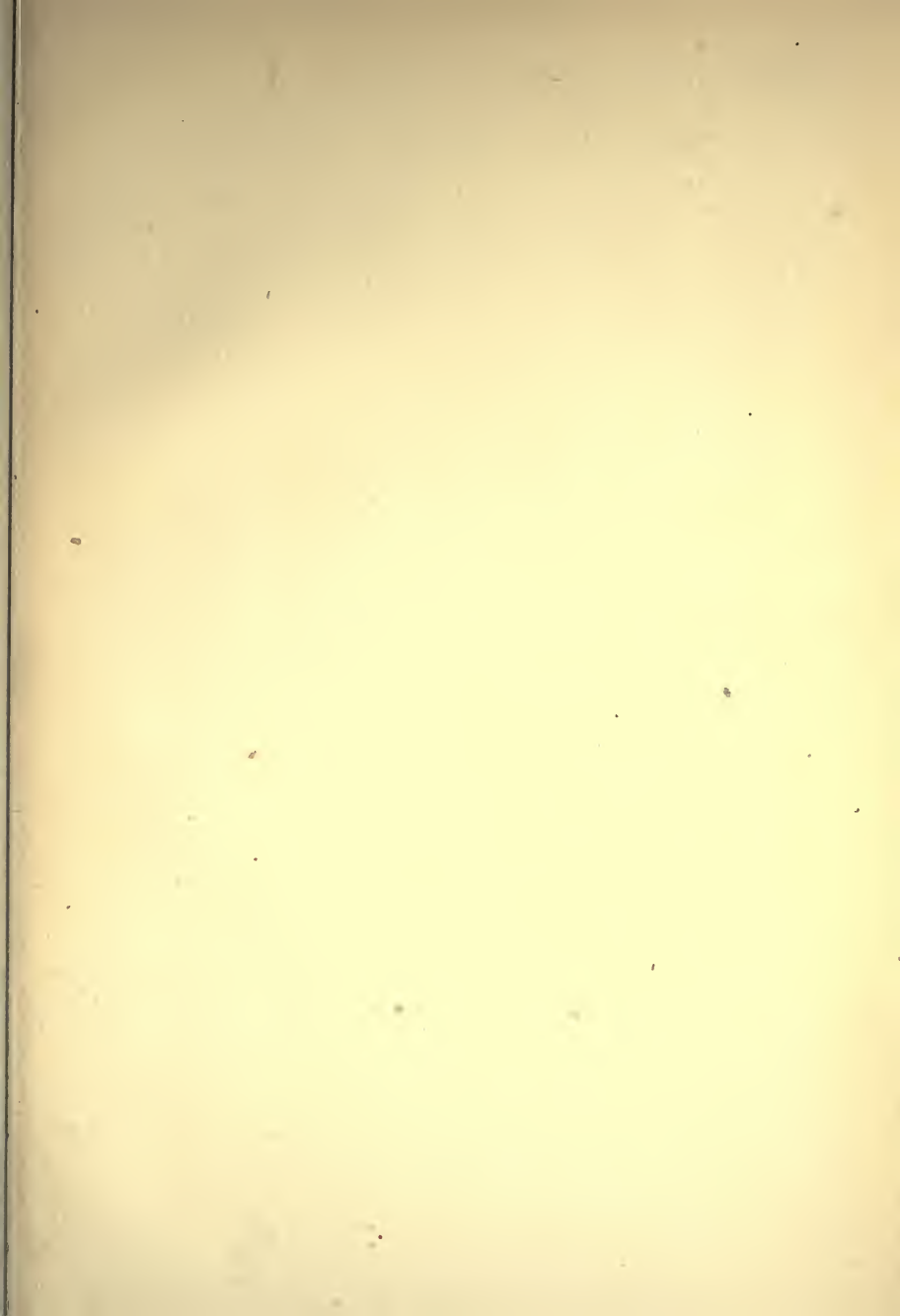
Surprise of Amiens (1597) ; Surrender of Mercœur.— But the time for reforms had not yet fully come, for the time of trials had not yet passed. In 1596 the Spaniards had taken Calais; the following year they entered Amiens by an ingenious stratagem. Henry was at his capital in the midst of festivities, when he learned that the Spaniards were in Amiens, thirty leagues from Paris. "Enough of being king of France," said he; "now I must be the king of Navarre!" And he put on his armor. He hastened to Amiens with Biron and his splendid artillery, all his northern nobles, and twenty thousand men. Rosny supplied the ammunition and provisions. An army came from the Netherlands to raise the siege, but returned without having effected anything. Amiens surrendered. The rapidity of this operation increased the reputation of the king among foreigners and exhibited the strength of France. Mercœur, the last of the great chieftains of the League, made his submission.

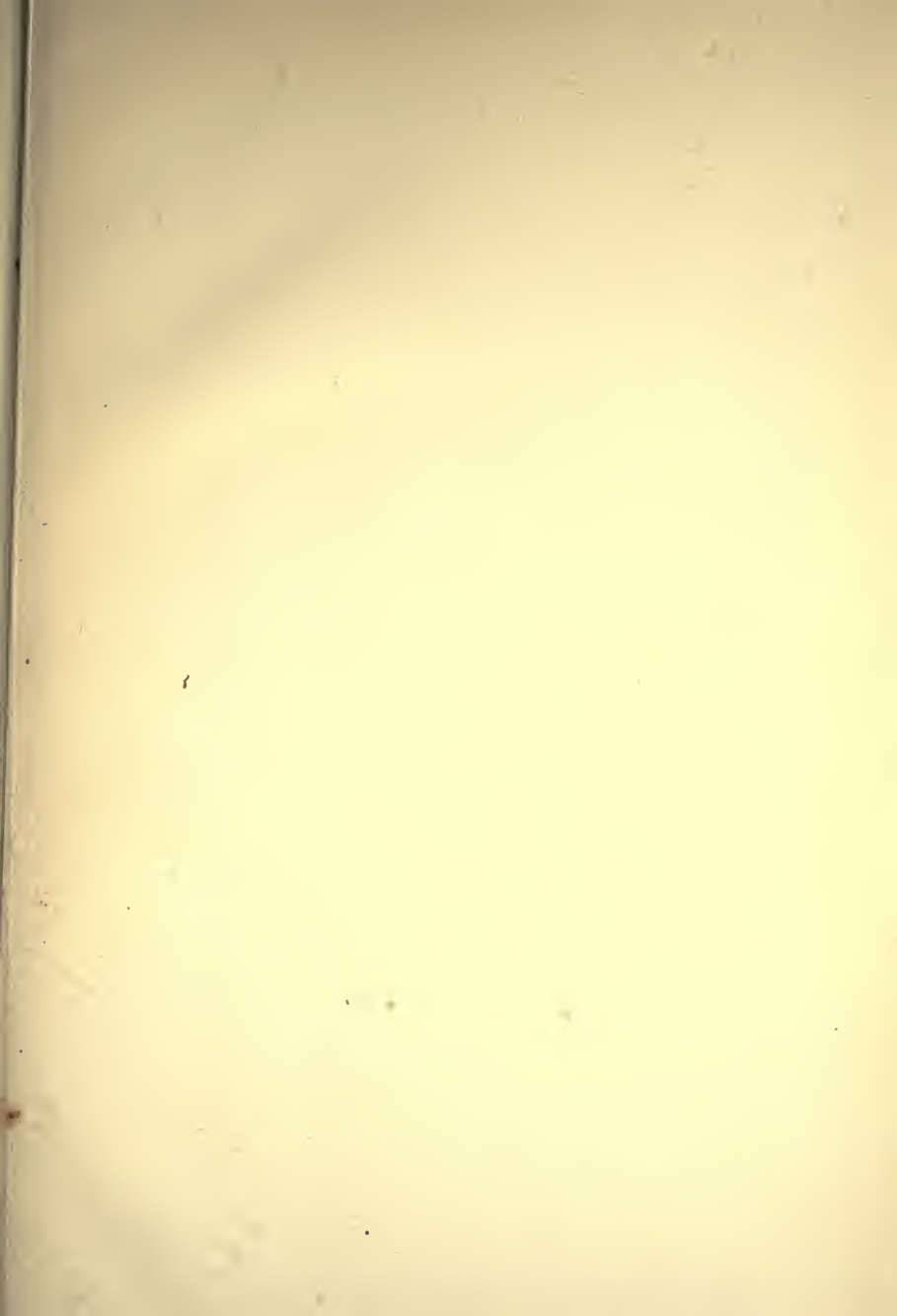
Edict of Nantes (April 13, 1598).— A few days after, Henry also brought the religious war to an end by the treaty of peace which bears the name of the Edict of Nantes. Since his conversion the Calvinists had maintained a sullen attitude towards him. Several nobles of the reformed party had followed his example, but the mass of the people, and especially the ministers, resisted. In vain the king flattered them with that graceful good-nature which won all hearts; he had to contend against serious convictions and characters which never bent under the pressure of interested motives. Happily the leaders had had enough of war; besides, Henry offered them good and just conditions, such as L'Hôpital had promised them thirty-six years before: liberty of conscience first of all, liberty of worship within their own castles, in all towns where their worship had already been established, or at least in one city or town in each bailliage. The schools and public offices were thrown open to them. Certain towns were given them in guarantee, and chambers composed equally of Protestants and Catholics were to give judgment in the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux, in cases in which Protestants were concerned. Finally, they were given the right to assemble every three years by representatives, to present their complaints to the government. This edict thus proclaimed at last the modern principle of tolerance in matters of religion, and moreover

that other principle, that the State should rise above religious partisanship, and compel all to respect the public peace.

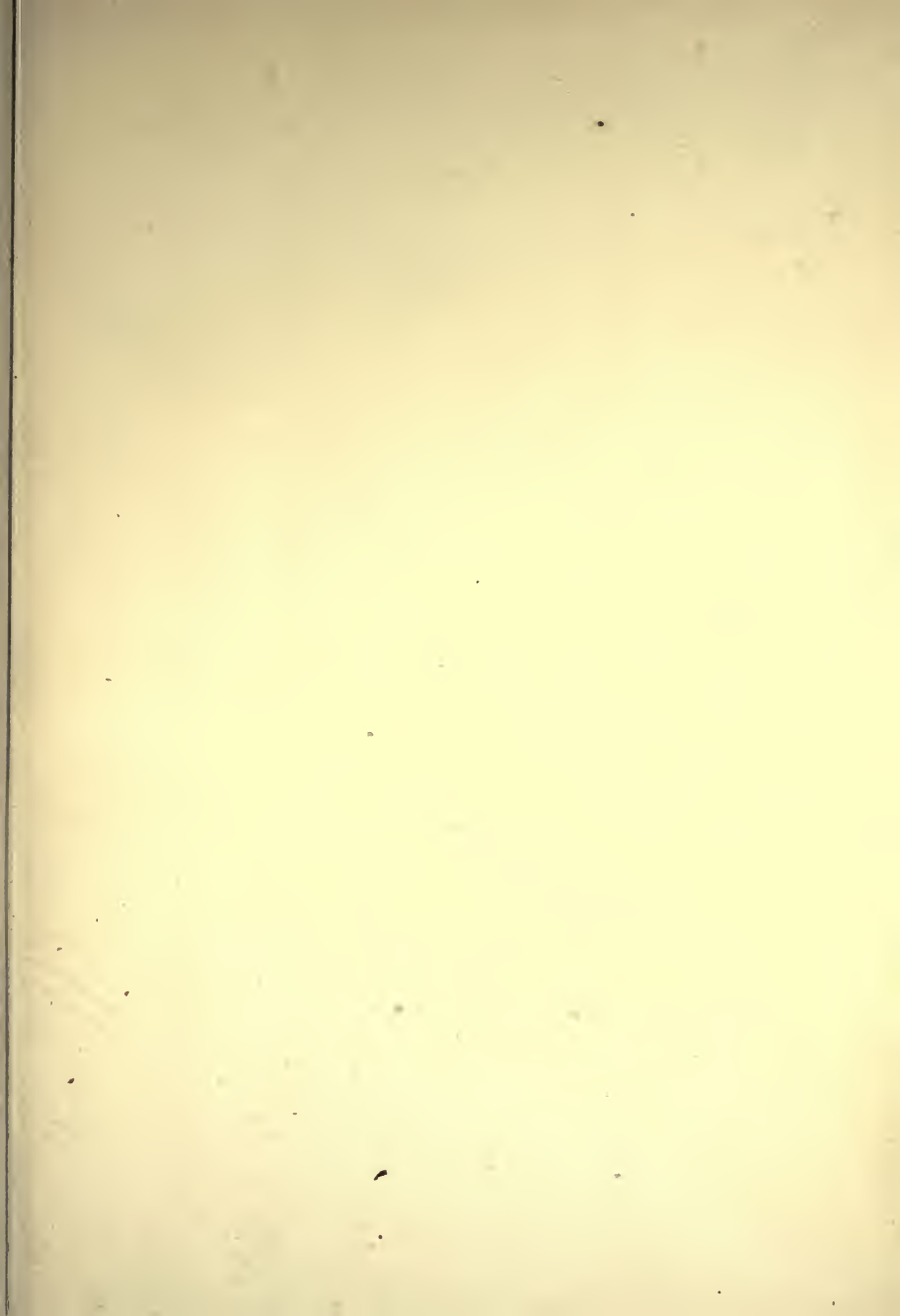
Treaty of Vervins (1598).—Nineteen days after (May 2d), the deputies of the king signed at Vervins a treaty of peace with Spain. Philip II., defeated by England, by the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and by him whom he called the Prince of Béarn, saw, after so many efforts, his ambitious designs frustrated, his monarchy, like himself, exhausted and dying. He wished at least to end his days in peace. The treaty of Vervins (1598) established between the two states the boundaries laid out forty years before by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. France and Spain, it seemed, came back to the same starting-point. But one reached it exhausted in strength and almost lifeless, while the other was full of youth and enthusiasm. The gloomy despotism of Philip II. had thrown Spain into a decline from which two centuries have not been able to arouse her; the reign of Henry IV. inaugurated by conciliatory measures one of the greatest periods in the history of France. During these forty years frightful calamities had passed over the country; but a great question had been settled; France remained Catholic without the Inquisition, retained the strong royal power which was still necessary to her, and did not go back five centuries to return to feudal and municipal anarchy.

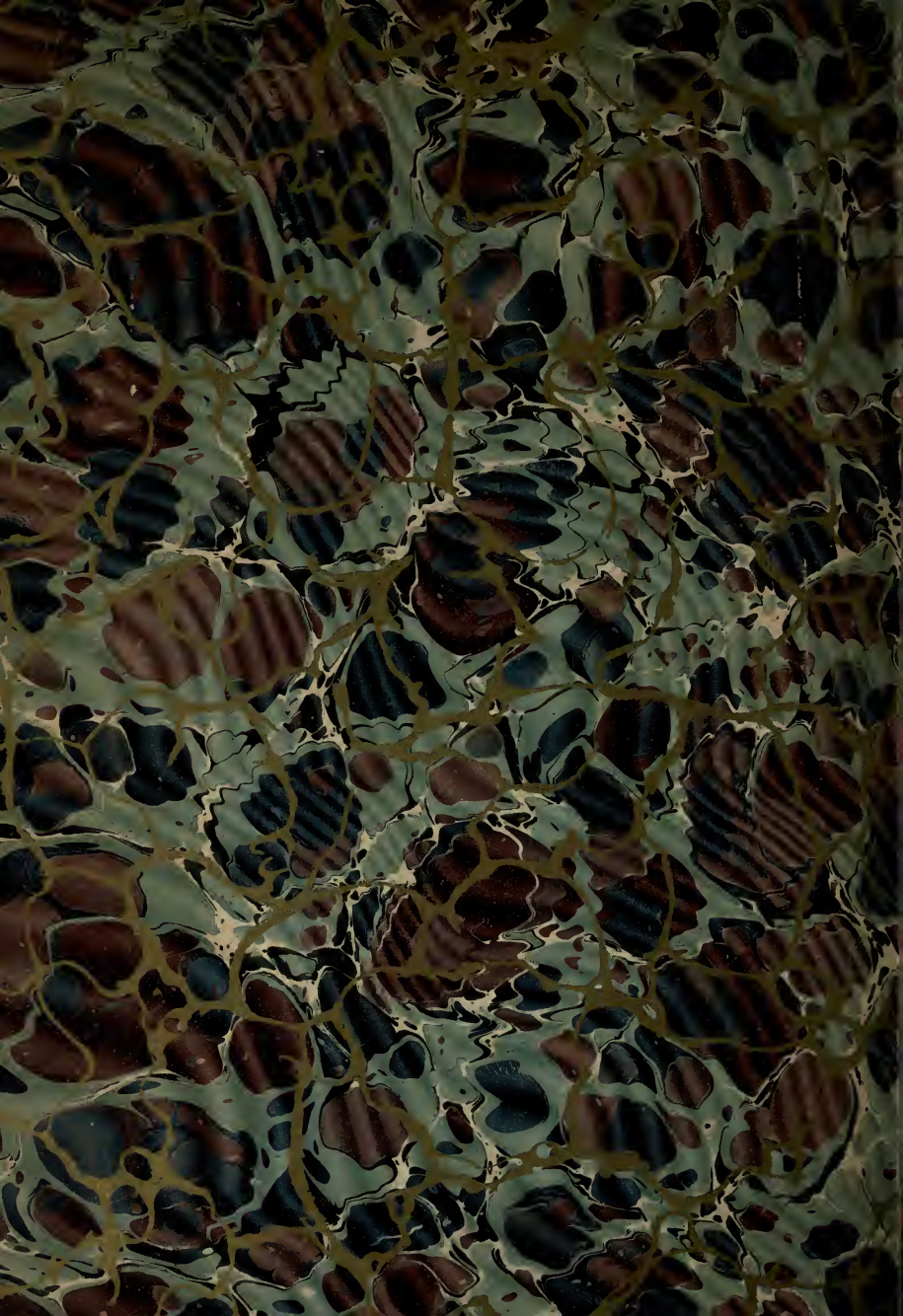
The Acquisition of Bresse and Bugey (1601).—Savoy had taken advantage of the embarrassments of France to seize upon the marquisate of Saluzzo. Henry declared war (1600), and compelled her to give up to him in exchange Bresse and Bugey; that is to say, the whole country from Lyons to Geneva. These were only small acquisitions, but they were of serious importance to France, inasmuch as they covered Lyons on the side toward Switzerland and cut off communication between Franche-Comté, a Spanish possession, and Savoy, whose duke was under the influence of the Spanish governor of the Milanese.











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